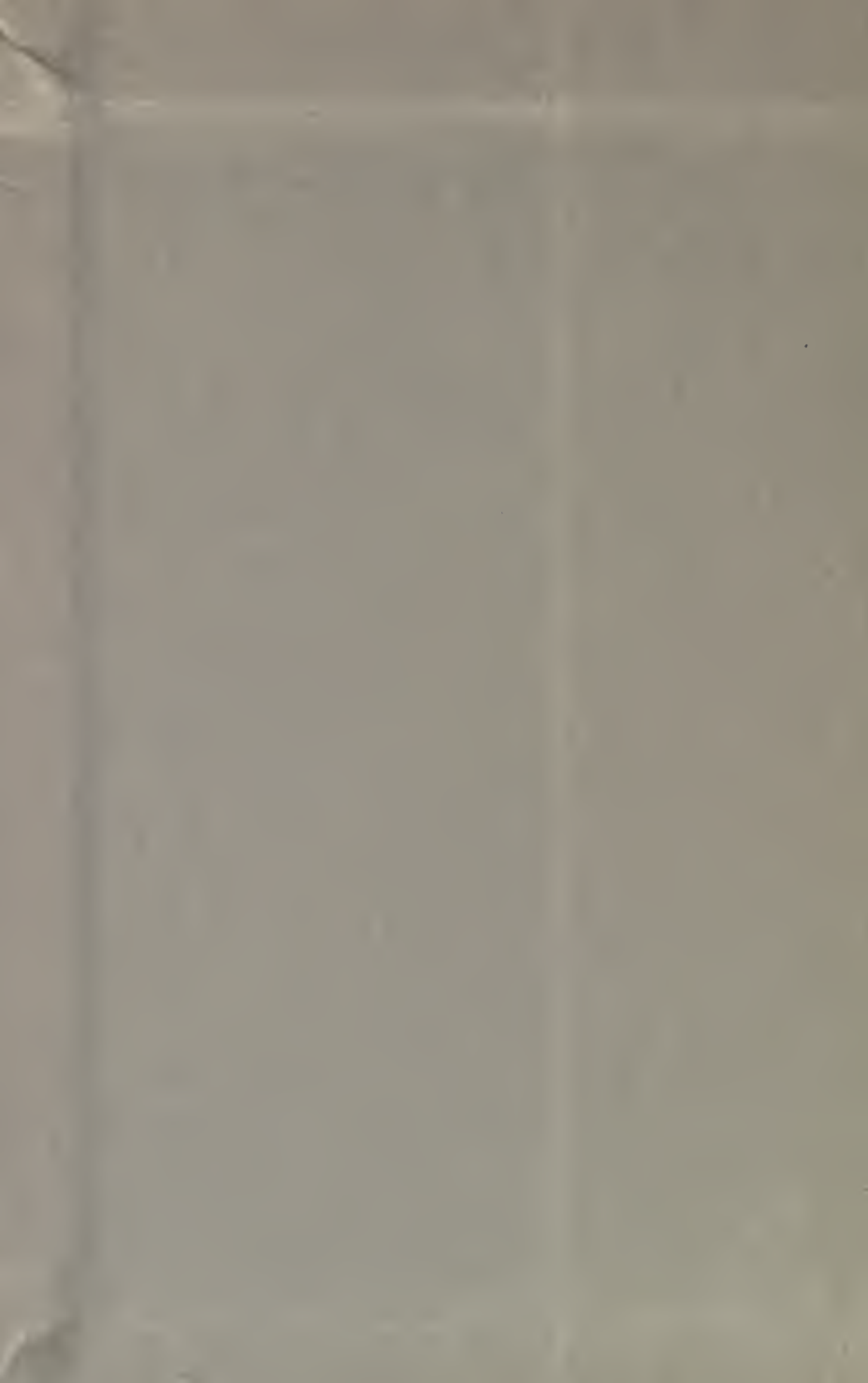


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TOWARDS A NEW  
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# TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

*Being the Report of an International Conference held at Oxford, August 20-24, 1920, arranged by the Committee on War and the Social Order . . . . .*

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**A**N International Conference was held at Oxford from August 20th to 27th, 1920, divided into two periods. Part I. was arranged by the London Yearly Meeting's Committee on War and the Social Order, and Part II. by the "New Town" Council.

The headquarters of the Conference was Keble College, and the kind reception accorded to those attending was greatly appreciated. In the intervals between the meetings of the Conference, visits were paid to places of historic interest in Oxford, and to attractive spots in the surrounding countryside.

During the first half of the week the discussion centred round the social implications of the Quaker Faith, and the world need and opportunity for a new Social Order. This was followed in the second half by discussions on the practical proposals put forward by the "New Town" Council.

The conference was attended by about 300 Friends and others, from Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, Canada, Jamaica, South Africa, and the Continent of Europe.

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**A**T the opening of the Conference THE CHAIRMAN, J. EDWARD HODGKIN (Clerk of the Committee on War and the Social Order) said the Conference was a sign of the times. It was always so, that in times of difficulty, danger and change, humankind drew together for sympathy, fellowship and discussion of its problems, and it was well in this time of change and changes foreshadowed Friends should confer on the social implications of their Quaker testimony.

The Conference would probably first stress the fact of the Divine Spirit living in each one and working out through each one. In industry, education, and in other matters, they spoke of the expressing of personality, and that meant the expressing that of God which was in each one. The second point to be stressed was the peace testimony and the value placed upon human life. That was the underlying thought which would run throughout the whole of the discussions. It was that which made them desire a better world for men and women to live in and for children to grow up in. It was the knowledge of God in every man that led us to consider what was the position of the wage slave—the great problem of freeing men and women from the economic conditions they live in at present. There was a universal responsibility to witness to this Divine Spirit, and with many things in the melting-pot this was our opportunity.



# World Needs and Opportunities

*By Mary King Emmott (London)*

**A**S we look around the world to-day the most striking and universal characteristic is *unrest*. This appears in all countries and in many different guises. The world is so closely united now in one whole that unrest in one place affects another, and there seems no habitable spot on the globe and no department of man's varied activity which is unaffected by it. The causes of this unrest are many and deep-seated. They constitute a crisis in the history of the world. Great questions of national and international life hang in the balance and no one can tell what consequences may depend on the decisions made by this generation.

The disillusionment caused by the outbreak of hostilities, followed by the still more bitter disillusionment of the revelations of secret treaties, diplomacy and intrigue, and by the failure of the Peace Conference to put forward any adequate plan for the future peace of the world, have all heightened the feeling of disappointment. The hopes of men have been thwarted. Millions of men showed themselves during the war capable of heroism and self-sacrifice for an ideal, but there is a feeling now that somehow or another this has all missed fire—that the personal sacrifice given so willingly by great masses of men, and women too, has somehow been wasted. That promises have not been kept, that things have not turned out as we expected or were led to believe by those we trusted, and that we have all been the victims of some huge conspiracy of fate against us.

Added to this general feeling of disillusionment and dissatisfaction, we have in this country a great host of private grievances arising out of niggardly and dilatory action of Government Departments in such matters as pensions and gratuities for soldiers, unemployment and housing—action

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which contrasted with wastefulness of expenditure elsewhere has produced a state of tension bordering on exasperation in large sections of the community.

This state of mind expresses itself in different ways in different people. Amongst all classes of society the most profound dissatisfaction is the prevailing undercurrent. A feeling of having been thwarted, of having been "let down," as the soldiers say, of having missed the best of life somehow or other, and we see the manifestations of this in many different forms, from the outbreaks of crime to the mad riot of an Ascot carnival or the tremendous vogue of Spiritualism. This dissatisfaction may be a healthy thing if it leads to construction of a better system, but in the meantime existence of such wide-spread unrest offers a favourable field for the manifestation of a revengeful spirit roused by the war, and, coupled with the instability of government and shortage of food in many countries of Europe, constitutes a grave danger to Western civilization.

### *THE DETERMINING FACTOR*

Looking more closely into the causes of this unrest, we find that they are very largely economic and are bound up with the organization of the industrial system. There is in almost every country a wide-spread revolt on the part of the workers against the claims made on them by industry, and this revolt is no longer confined to a demand for better wages, shorter hours, and an improvement of working conditions, but calls in question the whole structure of the industrial system and demands its total reorganization. The epidemic of strikes bears witness to the feeling of insecurity and dissatisfaction which is everywhere prevalent, and together with this goes the increasing realization of the fact that it is economic forces which will ultimately determine the political situation—that the great Conferēces at which the fate of the world is being settled are but a stage on which dance marionettes moved by invisible forces of Capital, whose power is really the determining factor in the issue. As we think of these things there comes to us a feeling of helplessness. But it may be that the crisis which has now been reached, if only it is realized and adequately dealt with, may prove the portal of a new era.

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Let us now pass very briefly in review some of the outstanding features of the present situation.

Great changes have taken place in the form of government in Europe, the war has witnessed the collapse of the three great military Empires—Germany, Austria and Russia—and the creation of new Republics on their ruins. Before the war there were in Europe 18 monarchical states with over 410 million inhabitants and only three republics containing less than 50 million people.

Now there are only 12 monarchies left and none of them autocratic, with 150 million inhabitants, whilst the 18 or 20 republics (number not yet absolutely fixed by the Peace Conference) number over 300 million inhabitants.

### *THE LABOUR PARTY*

In England the outstanding feature of recent years has been the rise to power of the Labour Party, which gained striking victories in the recent municipal elections and is now a powerful minority (60 members) in the House of Commons exerting an important influence on the policies of the other parties. The constructive programme of the British Labour Party has indeed diverted attention from the old party slogans to matters of industrial and general welfare. It is not improbable that the next election in this country may turn on the question of nationalization of the mines or on the question of railway policy. Both here and in the United States there is a breakdown of the old party system—terms like Liberal and Conservative or Republican and Democrat seem no longer adequate. They do not apply to the live issues of the moment. The attempt which took place in England to unite the conflicting elements in a Coalition seems unlikely to survive, in spite of the frantic efforts of its leaders to retain the public favour. There is wide-spread distrust of the Government because of its failure to redeem its pledges, to stop profiteering and waste and to show that it has any real constructive policy for the future. To this distrust of the Government is added, especially since the farce of the last Parliamentary election, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the whole system of our political machinery. As a result of the long struggle from the days of the Chartist movement onwards the vote has been won

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at last, but the men and women who now have it see that the power of the vote is no longer the determining factor in the situation. Not only is the machinery of elections unsatisfactory, but the issues on which elections are fought are sometimes trivial and unimportant, so that the electors have very little feeling of control over the affairs of the nation. The temptation is great to appeal to "direct action" and to discard the outworn political machinery, and to take by means of a general strike the power which the workers feel they have, but which they have not succeeded in gaining through political channels. Such a policy is indeed deprecated by many of the most thoughtful and influential leaders in the ranks of labour, and up to now they have been able to avert what would be a national calamity. It is difficult, however, to see how this situation can last indefinitely in face of growing restlessness.

### *TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION*

In industry as well as in the sphere of government great changes have taken place under the stress of the demand for men and munitions. The policy of the Government Departments in encouraging amalgamation as a means of facilitating rationing of raw materials and controlling output has done much to hasten the formation of Trusts in all the large industries of this country. The Trade Unions have grown enormously in numbers: 2,232,446 in 1913, 5,265,426 in 1919, and probably close on 8,000,000 in 1920. But more important than the increase in membership has been the extension of Trade Union organization and the recognition now accorded to Trade Unions in this country by the Government, whilst the widening of Trade Union membership to include brain workers has done much to break down middle-class suspicion.

The growing strength of the Trade Unions has given to the workers the confidence they hitherto lacked, and already there are not wanting signs that the Trade Unions may turn from being purely defensive organizations to adopt some more constructive policy—such as that of the Guilds—so as to form the nucleus of the new industrial order.

The case of the women workers and of women's status as a whole may prove to be one of the most significant



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changes of this generation. At the call for war, workers, many women, entered industry for the first time, stepping out of their customary status and "place in the home" to at least a nominal freedom of contract and control of their own earnings. Not only in trades where they had been employed before, but in entirely new trades like engineering, women entered, took over men's work, and as a rule they found that it was not beyond them. This increased sense of power on the part of woman and the right that she has won to independent status as a wage-earner and a voter may prove important factors in the years before us. Women will not so easily acquiesce in putting up with their "lot" as before the war; they are determined to assert their individuality. The recent Geneva Suffrage Congress of women of all nations must have been a remarkable gathering, bearing witness to the extraordinary spread of the movement for the political enfranchisement of women in all countries, from India to Iceland. The "Program" adopted by this Congress demands a higher moral standard both for men and women, and equality of status in all departments. In this country women are for the first time taking part in government as magistrates and on juries and in the House of Commons. There are five Friend women magistrates. The recent admission of women to the Bar and their gradual entry into the other professions are signs of the times which we cannot disregard in thinking of the future.

### **WOMAN'S NEW FIELD**

Whilst speaking of the part which women may play in public life, one is reminded of a new field for which women are particularly fitted. In England the creation of the Ministry of Health constitutes a revolution in social history as well as in the history of medicine. The new Ministry is pledged (see S. Webb Co-op. Yr. Bk., 1920, p. 114) to the statutory reorganization of all the provision that is made by various local authorities in England and Wales for the prevention and treatment of disease, and the public care of the sick and infirm of all kinds. Every vestige of the Poor Law, which is universally condemned as costly, unsatisfactory, and wasteful, is to be eliminated from the new Ministry, and instead of this a new kind of public service is to be set up to *prevent* disease, so safeguarding the health of the

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workers, the health of the mothers and the children, as well as to undertake the special care of the infirm, aged and defective. This means a fundamental change in the attitude of the Government to the worker, and is bound to have far-reaching consequences in the future.

By removing the stigma of the Poor Law, and by providing preventive as well as remedial treatment, an incalculable amount may be done towards stopping the wastage of human life which takes place under present conditions. But without a change in the structure of industry itself, whatever safeguards may be introduced, it is unlikely that the *best* conditions will be realized. Although we may prevent men being used up at such a pace, or being thrown upon the scrap-heap when they prove inefficient, it is difficult to see that there can be any resulting harmony of aim while the industrial system is organized as it is at present on a basis of competitive profit-making. We come back, then, to the consideration that the re-organization of industry is the key to the present situation. It is the most urgent problem of the moment. Both from the national and the international point of view we have seen that the industrial and economic situation is the one of paramount importance. It is the industrial situation that will decide the question of production and of repairing the damage on a colossal scale which the war has bequeathed us. It is the industrial situation which will determine the question of international relations and the question of war or peace of the world; and again it is the industrial organization which affects the individual lives of millions of workers in all countries, not only in so far as it provides them with the means of subsistence, but by giving or failing to give them the scope for the development of their best powers of service.

### *THE CLASH OF IDEALS*

I have said nothing hitherto about the moral and religious aspect of the question, because I take it we are all only too conscious of the clash which exists between the ideals we hold as Christians and our actual practice in the world of business.

It is always difficult to see the evil of things to which

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we are accustomed. Class prejudices, differences of education, all kinds of unwarrantable assumptions about ourselves and others, may still blind us to the real facts of the situation.

We realise that war is wrong, but we have not seen that in our social and industrial systems there occurs constantly that clash and conflict of interests which may in itself be called a state of "chronic warfare." We know that economic causes have been a most fruitful cause of war in the past. If only for the sake of averting future wars, we should strive with all our powers to alter a state of things in which the fire of war is ever smouldering and may suddenly flare into conflagration.

There are already many people who talk of the next war, and it behoves us all to do our best to cement the ties of international friendship and to dispel causes of misunderstanding. But economic causes of conflict have been stronger in the past than any ties that had been formed, and unless we can in some way remove the industrial and economic causes of war the case indeed seems hopeless.

### *THE NECESSARY TOUCHSTONE*

Can we not realize that we have been building on a wrong foundation and that because the appeal to personal profit and gain as a motive is wrong and un-Christian it must be altered? Can we not see that the mistake in the past has been that we have allowed industry to usurp the place of master in the house of humanity, and that industry has relegated the great mass of the workers to the position of mere machines, denying to them the opportunity to live a full and free life. If it be true that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, if human personality is the supreme treasure to be won from this terrestrial existence, then material conditions must be made to subserve this end. We must bring all our institutions—religious, political, and industrial—to the touchstone of human values, asking what effect this or that has in promoting the real life of man and in ministering not only to his material well-being, but also to what we regard as the "higher values of life"—the realization of a personality truly related to God and man. Judged by this test the

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industrial system is seen to be a failure. It has regarded men, women and children simply as material for its own ends. The employer is as much as the employee a victim of the system.

The years of war have taught us that human nature is capable of most splendid heroisms. But for the war we might never have realized the capacity for heroism, devotion to duty, allegiance to a cause and self-sacrifice for others which is latent in such hosts of ordinary men and women. These capacities have not yet been harnessed to the ordinary work of the world. In some of the professions, such as medicine, the motive of service is an acknowledged motive, but in industry the appeal has been to the motive of profit-making, and, although there are many in industry who do regard their work in the light of public service, they are the fortunate exceptions: the great motive has always been profit-making and the question "Will it pay?" has been the determining factor in the situation. So long as this continues to be the case I believe we shall not only lose immeasurably by not giving to human nature the scope it needs and getting from it in return the best it has to offer, but also that as long as industry is organized on a basis of profit-making we shall have no secure foundation for peace, nationally or internationally.

Could we but take the highest motive, the motive of mutual service, as the main motive of industry and introduce co-operation instead of competition we should have a sure foundation for the peace of the future.

Just as in the past John Woolman roused his generation to the inconsistency of slavery, and showed that because it was inconsistent with Christianity it must be altered—just as in the past it dawned upon mankind that child labour was un-Christian, that "childhood is not economic power but spiritual potentiality" (H. Ward), and this realization meant that child labour was abolished—so in this generation comes to us the call to denounce the present system of competitive industry as un-Christian and to set ourselves to the task of its re-organization. This is for us the great Christian adventure. The times are ripe for a change on a scale unprecedented in history.

Shall we let slip our opportunity?



# Capital and Labour in the United States

*By Edward W. Evans (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

**W**HEN the Great War began European statesmen hoped to restrict the area of conflict. It proved a vain hope. There are some to-day who may hope to restrict the area of social unrest; but the germs of this malady, if malady it be, are not local. They are in the blood of present-day civilisation.

The industrial life of the United States, while not experiencing the violent upheavals which have occurred in some European countries, has exhibited the symptoms of this deep-seated unrest. During the four years 1916—1919 the number of strikes in the United States reached more than 14,000, or an average of about 3,600 per year—approximately ten strikes for every day in the year.

There are certain obvious conclusions from such facts as these. Unrest is evidently widespread. It must also be deep-seated. There must be something more than imaginary wrongs or petty grievances at work to drive these great organized hosts into action at such peril to their daily bread. What the nation suffers from this state of conflict is incalculable. The enormous loss and waste through interrupted production and general dislocation of industry is only part of the picture. The moral and spiritual losses, the antagonisms and bitterness, the hardness of heart, the suspicion and distrust are still greater injuries to our highest interests.

The three great parties to these controversies—the public, capital, and labour—have each contributed their share to the difficulty and each has its contribution to make to the solution.

The attitude of capital and the employers toward organized labour is of prime importance. Upon this it is difficult to make any brief statement which will stand the test. There are employers—an increasing number, I hope—who will endorse the position of a President of one of Pennsylv-

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vania's coal companies after the strike of 1900. Speaking of the opposition to the unions, he said : " This whole policy with the trade union is out of date. There must be an end to a situation that breeds warfare as regularly as the seasons come. The trade union is now here and we shall not get rid of it ; I, for one, believe that we ought not to get rid of it. It has got to be recognized in spite of all that this means. It will make our work for a long time harder and more disagreeable, but the truth is that we employers have got to learn the lesson of working harmoniously with organized labour."

On the other hand, there is the position taken by a one-time President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who said : " My denunciation was, and is, of a defiant labour trust machine representing less than 5 per cent. of the wage-earners of the country, every page of whose history is black with the foulest deeds of inhumanity and injustice. . . . This question of belligerent unionism is not one of sentiment. It is not a question to be trifled with or treated with apathy or indifference. . . . The thing in the eye of God is wrong and to attempt to clothe it in the livery of heaven only adds to its wickedness."\*

### *WHERE BRITAIN WAS 30 YEARS AGO*

The National Industrial Conference called by President Wilson, which met in Washington last October, shed much light on the general attitude of the employing group in the U.S. That Conference consisted of 17 delegates representing employers, 19 representing labour, and 22 representing the public. As Secretary Lane, the Chairman, pointed out, the gathering constituted a possible constructive agency for progress towards industrial justice. But it came to an untimely shipwreck on the issue of collective bargaining and unionism. The labour group and the public group agreed upon a resolution recognizing the right of wage-earners in trade and labour unions to bargain collectively and to be represented by representatives of their own choosing. But the employers' group objected. They were willing to recognize the right of the workers in a given shop or plant to

\* Trade Unionism in the United States. Hovie.

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organize and bargain collectively through representatives chosen from employees in that plant, but they refused to recognize the right to bargain collectively through the regular trade union officials. This, of course, meant refusal to accept trade unionism. The labour group declared that "the action of the employers' group legislated us out of this Conference," and withdrew. An article reporting the Conference says: "We [the United States] are to-day exactly where the British were about thirty years ago."

Turning for a moment to labour, it may be said that the labour movement in the United States has manifested itself in four main forms. First and foremost there is trade unionism; second, the Socialist party, working in the political field; third, the I.W.W., the American manifestation of Syndicalism; and, finally and more recently, the Communist and Communist-Labour parties. Of these, in point of numbers, weight, stability and effectiveness in practical affairs, the trade unions are by far the most important.

The great working and controlling unit is the National Union. These in turn are federated in the American Federation of Labour. There are some 111 national unions in the Federation. It is important to observe, however, that the Federation is, as its name implies, not a dominant governing body but a co-operative association of national unions. The national unions have jealously guarded their independence and sovereignty.

### *RAPID GROWTH*

The facts leave no doubt as to the rapid growth numerically of the unions included in the American Federation of Labour. The membership has increased about fourfold in the last 20 years. From 1902 to 1916 it approximately doubled, increasing from about one million to about two millions. The reported membership at the last annual convention in June of this year was over four millions, so that it has again doubled since 1916. Of the national unions the largest is the United Mine Workers, one of the few unions in the United States organized on industrial rather than on craft lines.

The aims and policy of the trade union movement in the United States, phrased succinctly in the words of the late Professor Hovie, has been "immediate results secured

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by bargaining," or as Samuel Gompers has described it, "More, more, more, now." This has meant that the movement has devoted itself chiefly to a struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Much has been achieved in these directions for which the whole country is the better. We have also reaped much from the educating and Americanizing influences of the unions. But it is regrettable that our American trade union movement has not developed a higher and a wider vision. To quote Professor Hovie once again, the greatest defect in the movement has been the lack of "practical idealism."

There are signs that this vision and idealism are growing in some quarters. Numbers of employers are indicating that they desire to substitute co-operation with labour for the futile and unhappy policy of antagonism and conflict. The recent establishment in three industries in our country, clothing, printing, and electrical contracting, of National Trade Councils or Boards, consisting of employers and employees, is hopeful for the future. Those of us who would help to bring about a better industrial life may take heart and go forward in the endeavour to support such movements and the spirit which underlies them.

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# Problems of Industry and Labour

*By George Lansbury*

*(Editor of "Daily Herald," London)*

**T**HE subject I am asked to speak to you upon is, I suppose, the most important question of our time. I think it has been the most important question of all time. In speaking to you I do not speak as an expert or as an authority, but as an ordinary man talking to other ordinary men and ordinary women. The Labour movement is not a new movement. I read about the new problems and the new time and the new reconstruction. Humanity has been trying to reconstruct itself, to get a new and better time throughout all time, and we are only—so it seems to me—just carrying on what has been a tradition in the history of mankind, the struggle of men and women for a higher and better standard of life. Right from the beginning men and women have been struggling to get more comfort, more of the good things of life, more of what we call the civilizing things of life from nature by a struggle with nature, and to-day we are faced with the fact that more men and women than ever before are desirous of having what is called culture and higher life. I do not use these words in the ordinary sense—culture in the modern sense is a curious sort of thing sometimes—but in the sense that there are a larger number of men and women not content with being workers, toilers for their daily bread, but who demand that in their lifetime there shall be opportunities for developing something more than the means of earning their daily bread.

You are faced with the fact that in America, England, and Germany, and in a sense France, the mass of the people can now read. I think that is the real dynamic of revolution everywhere—the fact that the sources of information with regard to history and science are not shut out from

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the bulk of men and women to-day. When people could not read it was easy to make them believe that God created rich and poor people. But you cannot make them believe that to-day. There are people stupid enough to think you can, but it is quite impossible that the ordinary average man or woman will believe you when you tell them that poverty is ordained of God. They have enough knowledge now to enable them to know that is untrue. There is no question about our ability to give to the mass the highest standard of material life, and the means at our disposal are growing greater every day. Anyone who knows anything of the mechanism that was brought into use for the production of war material, knows that if the same brain power and energy were applied to the production of things needed for the raising of the material standard of life, there is no end to the comfort the mass of men and women might enjoy. The thing I want to press upon your notice is that right from the very start mankind has been struggling to get something out of nature. At first we fought nature co-operatively, but as Society has grown we have developed a sort of instinct that as individuals we can live better by fighting for our own hand than by working together to pull the best out of nature.

### *THE FETISH*

"No two people can have the same thing." Ruskin said that, here in Oxford fifty or sixty years ago, and if we get that into our heads and keep it there we shall understand the social problem more easily than we do now. We have made men think that the one thing to strive after was to get away from hard manual work. I have been thinking it over, and if it came to me that I had to sweep the streets it would not greatly trouble me. Ten years ago it would have affected me. I should have been ashamed to earn my bread by sweeping the streets. That attitude of mind is at the root of the social problem. If you want to survey the problem, start there. Why is it that although we preach the glories of work to the manual worker, all of us want to give it up at the earliest moment? It is not that we are more lazy, but because there has grown up this sort of fetish that says it is much better to wear a black coat

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and a white collar, and that you are a much better person in that condition than when you are an ordinary labourer. Some religious people have got it into their brain that it is ordained that some should be rich and others poor. I believe that is rank blasphemy. I believe God created ordinary human beings like you and me, and the other thing is the invention of the devil himself. Why is it that we white people consider ourselves superior to other races? Why do we talk of the savage and ignorant peoples of the world? When I meet coloured people I ask myself in what particular am I superior, or the white races, because the result of this struggle of ours to get out of the rut of ordinary labour is that we massacre tens of thousands of children and maim and wound and kill thousands of men, women, and children at their daily employment. It is no use talking about the children who used to die in India by being flung into the river. We do it differently in a more civilized way. We smother them in unhealthy homes and kill them by not allowing their mothers to have the necessary training to bring them up and feed them properly; with the result that 200,000 die annually before they are five years of age.

The spirit behind this attitude of mind is a sort of intellectual pride which says that "because I have got brains I am a more superior person than the other people and I am entitled to exploit them and get out of them something they ought to have for themselves." In the old days you could club your way. You feel now that nobody should be able to rely on his strong arm, but you do say the intellectual man has a right to organize people in such a way that he can exploit them and become himself a millionaire.

### *THE SCAVENGER'S RIGHT*

I believe the ordinary scavenger who has a wife and children has as good a claim to life as you want for yourselves, and I believe the right way to use our talent is not to exploit them, but to use that talent to give better service. I think there is no way of solving the social problem until we recognize that, because, to come back to Ruskin's saying, the ordinary worker now knows that dividend, rent, and

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profit must come from somewhere. It is natural resources and labour power only, that matter in the world. That carries me a step further. In considering Ruskin's saying, "No two people can have the same thing," we have to get into our minds that any of us who take anything we do not earn are taking it at the expense of those who do earn, and the poor are the necessary corollary of the rich. I am only an ordinary observer, but I have observed that no man who sticks to manual labour ever becomes a millionaire. The poor are not poor because they do not work hard—they live in the picturesque cottages that we admire so much but do not want to live in—it is because somebody creams off part of their daily work every day. The corollary of the cottage homes of England is the great industrial homes of England.

### *THE ONE THING NEEDFUL*

I think the only remedy for it all is conversion. We are converted to save our own souls and to make sure we get to heaven in after life, but we have to be converted to see life from a different angle altogether. We have been born into the midst of a competitive Society that will not allow us to live except on its particular lines. Although I am a Socialist, I am a believer that you cannot have Socialism until you have individual conversion; you cannot impose a theory of life on men and women. We have to face up to the fact that the thing we have to be converted from is the theory of violence, not merely international war, but the class war. Many of you played a magnificent part in fighting against the international war, but wars come from the economic and social conditions in the various countries that make up the world, and you will never get rid of international wars until you get rid of national war, the war that goes on every day, the class war. The class war is here.

To look on life not from the point of view of the individual, but of humanity, is the beginning of wisdom, and when we do see the truth it is our business to bring other people to that view. The world wants turning upside-down, and we want to go definitely to the teachings of our Lord. I believe they were literal teachings. I do not be-



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lieve in spiritualizing them. I want a religion that applies to everyday life, so that men can see it in your life. The world is hungering and thirsting, not after new theories, new schemes, but for sincerity, determination, and grit, and the world will only be redeemed by ordinary men and women setting to work to redeem it.

In answering a number of questions, George Lansbury further said that the more people got converted to production for service and use and not for profit the sooner would the mass of workmen be converted to it. He did not say that the workmen understood the sort of things he had been talking about, and he was perfectly certain there was a distinct feeling amongst the workers that they were not going to do their best while it means some people are going to get a bigger share than the people who produce.

Asked as to whether a Friend was justified in giving his child a better education than was available to the mass of children George Lansbury said that the problem was a tragedy to all who had views of life. He had worried about it considerably, but he thought there was a sort of middle course, and he had tried to claim no more for his own children than he would claim for other people's children. The children might say it was hard on them, but he could not see it more clearly than that.

In answer to another Friend, George Lansbury said there was revolution going on in the mind of the ordinary working woman now, and he would not wonder if the revolution started in the lives of the working women. Their lives were a tragedy. Mothers lived through years of absolute drudgery and their daughters would not get married because they refused to live the lives their mothers had to go through.

## National Guilds

### I. INDUSTRIAL PARLIAMENTS AS A ROAD TO NATIONAL GUILDS

*By Malcolm Sparkes (London)*

**W**HAT I have to say is the story of how a great industry struck the road out of chaos into the New Industrial Order. The proposal in its origin was that the trade unions in the building industry should co-operate with the employers in setting up a national industrial parliament, whose function was to be, to build the New Industrial Order. It is such an extraordinary simple proposition that one hesitates to say that it is new, but it is new in the sense that all joint organizations up to that time had been set up simply to deal with disputes, and they got into action too late, when trouble was at its worst.

The idea behind the proposition was that the people who could put an industry right were the people who carried it on.

The Building Trade Parliament was decided upon and set up before the Whitley Report was written. The structure of the two organizations is very similar, but there are great differences in actual practice. The Whitley Joint Industrial Councils are the creation of a Government. The Building Trade Parliament is the creation of the industry itself, adopted on its merits, and so a spirit has been developed throughout the industry which could not have been developed in any other way.

The Building Trades Parliament is based frankly on industrial idealism.

By a comparison of phrases from the constitution of the Parliament and the Whitley Report, this point is emphasized. It is because of the great difference in the declared object of the Whitley Council and the Building Trades Parliament that the former has been rejected and the latter accepted by one of the largest staple industries in the country.

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Industrial peace is not to be the end, but is a by-product of the New Industrial Order. We get peace when we deserve it—not before.

The Building Trades Parliament is designed on a scientific plan and is the attempt of an industry to set its own house in order. It is unique in being the only council that has had the courage to take decisions by a majority of the whole council, instead of requiring a majority on both sides. That I regard as a very important difference. The Whitley Council has actually stereotyped the very barrier that the Building Trades Parliament set out to break. The Parliament sits as one body—representing equally employers and employees in its personnel, but in its sessions a complete body—the Whitley Council sits as two groups sitting down and taking decisions by a majority of each side.

Another feature of the Parliament's constitution is regarded as fantastic. Its function is absolutely constructive and disputes are outside its scope. We are now beginning to see that this was absolutely vital. Disputes are outside the business of the Parliament and are dealt with under a system of conciliation boards. The machinery of the new council is simply confined to the one great job of building the New Industrial Order, and it is having a most important result. The cleavage in the industry is no longer between employer and operative; it is between the progressive and the cautious.

### *A CLEARING HOUSE*

The Building Trade Parliament is just two years old. It is acting as a Clearing-House for Ideas. In the old days people who had ideas had to write articles or address meetings. The process of passing an idea is speeded up and made more intimate, with the result that opinion in the building industry swings in a very remarkable way. On the question of unemployment, for instance, it has swung an enormous distance. It has begun already to consider the whole question of dealing with unemployment, although under the old *régime* it took 25 years to get the practice of sending little boys up chimneys as sweeps abolished in England.

It is the only assembly of this kind that has had the

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courage to face the whole question of industrial control. That was in its programme from the beginning.

In two years we have seen a great industry quietly considering its problems, 132 members representing the trades unions and the employers' associations, cordially meeting together. The temper of the assembly has changed. The members have got used to their job and have got an understanding. Within the two years of careful preparation they have discussed many subjects not of vital importance, very valuable work has been done, but they do not touch the structure of the capitalist system. Now we have begun to strike at fundamental things. Now there is the real industrial revolution—the rise of the Guild idea. In the last nine months the drama of the building industry has become exciting, and the essential thing is that the assembly is standing the strain. It is now beginning to face proposals which amount to an industrial revolution, and to face them without breaking. The belief is that the industry could pull together as one team for the common object, and ought not any longer to pull in opposite directions, and the executive body see the possibility of the whole industry being welded together for the public service.

### *THE BATTLE OF IDEAS*

It is now proposed that the industry should carry the cost of its own unemployment. This is much the most important thing before the Building Trades Parliament at the moment. A document including this and other propositions came before the Parliament last August. It was not unanimously approved. It was signed by 11 members out of 16. Five employers refused to sign. But I desire to make it clear that the five employers who refused to sign did not refuse from a desire of obstruction. The reason for their not signing was that they believed that the real incentive to production was the love of gain, and they believed it to be a mistaken assumption that workers will produce for service. This is the important thing to be borne in mind. It is a battle of ideas, not a battle of classes. The dramatic thing would be when a big employer volunteered for service in a guild. As soon as that happened the speed of development would be very much quicker.



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In conclusion, I will quote the New York "Nation's" reference to the Building Trades Parliament:

"To the business man who dreams of constructive work rather than of bootless struggle for spoils, this new movement offers fascinating opportunity to take part in the task of building up a real industrial democracy."

*Question: To what extent are the decisions of the Building Trade Parliament binding?*

They are not binding at all. Its proposals are referred to the constituent bodies of employers' and employees' organisations to put into action if they think fit.

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## II. NATIONAL GUILDS AND THE SPIRITUAL STATE

*By S. G. Hobson (Manchester)*

I ATTENDED the Manchester Conference of the Society of Friends some years ago and I have been thinking how far that particular Conference, which was very largely attended, had carried the Society in the direction of concerning itself with social questions. My recollection is that at that time the Society of Friends did not get much further than realizing that the duty of the Society as a corporate body barely extended beyond the Adult School movement. Much water has flowed under the bridge since then, and the education of the workers has very materially progressed. Your problem is not now so much to educate the workers in fundamentals as to realize that they themselves have come to certain definite conclusions and are thinking and not relying upon us to think for them. It will be your business now to consider one of two alternatives: whether you are concerned as a body merely with matters appertaining to the soul, or whether you have definite responsibilities towards social problems. If you adopt the second alternative, I venture to say that the time has come when you must have an intellectual understanding of the problem before you, because at the present time, whilst we

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want sympathy—that peculiar talent which Quakerism does possess of a sympathetic understanding—never more than now, under the complexity of the industrial system, do we want a reasoned way out. When I look out upon the industrial system, there is one fact which always strikes me as it is striking others—there is one common bond between all the wage-earners, there is something which unites them together which is common to the whole mass of the wage-earners. The one thing that binds it together is the wage system, the mere fact that they receive wages, and I suggest to you, if you want to begin on the social problem, you have to start with the fundamental idea that the wage contract not only binds together the workers of all crafts, but is the one and only means between employer and employed. The wage contract to-day is just this: the worker, the wage-earner, sells his labour at a certain valuation, and it is upon that valuation that the whole problem hinges. Does he sell it on a social valuation or on a competitive commodity valuation? If the worker is paid on his social value, that is, measuring his social value as a human being, the problem is very different. But as a matter of fact this is not so. What happens is that the worker sells his labour at a commodity valuation, and the implications of that fact are very far reaching. In the first place, when a man sells his labour as a commodity, he has no further share or interest in the thing he produces. The product goes to the man or company or class that buys that labour. More than that, not only has he no share, he has no kind of control.

### *TRANSFORM THE WAGE CONTRACT*

The first step in the Guild idea is to transform the existing wage contract. I ask you to consider that the purchase of a man's labour as a commodity is not very far removed from a sin against the Holy Ghost; when you disregard altogether a man's personality, and the only relation between employer and employed consists in the getting of the commodity called labour and paying at the market rate of wages, then the full control of industry lies with the man who pays for the labour.

Now, take the Building Guild, which I am engaged in organising. Prior to 1914 the builder was one of the worst sweated craftsmen in the kingdom. In wet weather men

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sometimes had no more than 15s. wages for a week. We have been faced with an enormous housing problem, and all sorts of charges were made against the men, one being that the bricklayer was not putting in his best to do a good day's work. We hear stories of a thousand bricks in a day that used to be laid, and now it is 350 or 400. I cannot personally lay 350 bricks in a day, but I sometimes watch the men, and it is tremendous work. But the men say to me, "Let us get the Guild and let us build for the community, and we will instantly put up our output. We can work for the community." The men are willing to work under fair conditions. If the wage contract is purely an agreement on the part of the employer to buy and the employee to sell labour, and if it is further a fact that in consequence the product belongs to the man who buys the labour, it follows that in time the men who have the monopoly of labour will turn round and say, "We refuse any longer to sell our labour as a commodity." The disposition to refuse to sell is spreading, and the logic of their argument has to be faced. There is no alternative to the existing system other than partnership. The Guild says it will bring all the workers together, and do it on terms of partnership. That partnership can only be between the employed and the community, because it is clear that if the worker will not sell his labour to an employer there cannot be an employer. Thus you get a combination of willing labour doing its duty for the community. That is the second stage in the Guild argument. It implies self-government of industry. We all want to know whether self-government is good in politics should not be equally good in industry. It is my experience and my observation that self-government in industry is far more fruitful and more real than the so-called self-government in politics because the political system is based on the economic foundation.

### *THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE*

If you believe in democracy, and as I understand it democracy is inherent in Quaker theory, I can appeal with confidence to every Friend. I ask you to say that it can be done, and that the time is ripe for the application of the democratic principle to industry.

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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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If, however, we form great self-governing Guilds in industry, and the economic functions are in consequence concentrated in the great Guilds, that means that the economic functions inherent in the State are transferred. I think that is coming. I think it is inevitable, and the real problem we have to face is: What is the future of the State from which the economic functions have been taken away? The State has been backed by physical force. It has been an organ of oppression. But if the economic functions are removed from the State what remains for the State to do? You are faced with the problem of the abolition of the State or a fundamental and great transformation of the State. I suggest that so far from the State being abolished, its future will depend upon the capacity of those working it—no longer to maintain it as a great physical force but encouraging in its organization the great spiritual problems that confront mankind.

The word spiritual has, of course, a purely secular meaning, which only adds to its significance. The essential facts are, first, that even all economic factors must be regarded as merely means to the great end of a purified citizenship; and, secondly, the spiritual problems confronting the State can only be solved when disentangled from the economic interests. Thus, such issues as foreign relations, relations with subject races, education, science and literature (so far as the State can take cognizance of such supremely important elements of civilized life) are vitiated at the outset if the capitalist and industrial classes decide them on industrial or capitalist grounds. If once we can invest the State quite literally with the rights and prerogatives of a High Court of Reason, divested of military or economic threats, can civilization proceed in a sweeter and richer atmosphere. The effect of transferring the economic factors from the State to the Guilds would be either spiritual death or an incalculable advance towards faith and reason. The existing vitiation of politics by interested economic forces is rapidly dragging the State into degradation and engendering the hatred of the working classes. Once a Quaker, and still proud of my Quaker antecedents, I appeal with confidence to young Friends present to bring back reality to our public affairs—the reality of the spirit that reigns and of reason that must direct our steps.



### III. NATIONAL GUILDS AND NATIONALISATION

*By Father Paul B. Bull, M.A.,  
of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorks*

**T**HE Nationalisation of Industry seems to be the central point in the creation of a New Social Order, for it promises to create a new motive for Industry, and without a new motive, a new heart and mind and will, no new Social Order can be permanent.

The Old Order of unrestricted competition leads quite inevitably to universal war. To safeguard my own sincerity, I am sure you will allow me to say that I am not a Pacifist, because I believe that the sacramental constitution of Man and the Universe may necessitate the right use of force, whether physical, intellectual, or spiritual, representing the body, soul, and spirit of man.

But I am on this account most thankful to be able to express the profound gratitude which the whole world owes to the Society of Friends for its noble protest against war, and its uplifting of the ideal of Peace, which is bearing its fruit in the action of the Labour Party to-day. But I would respectfully urge on you my profound conviction that it is futile to protest against war or plead for peace if we tolerate any longer the present Social Order, which has greed for its motive, unrestrained competition for its method, and universal War for its inevitable end. It is useless to protest against the effect if we make no serious effort to remove the cause of the disease—unrestrained competition for private gain.

#### *NOT COLLECTIVISM*

The National Guild programme of common ownership and democratic control seems to promise that new motive of common service and that new method of co-operative effort for the common wealth which would cut the nerve of war and create in us a new heart and mind.

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Nationalisation may mean many different things, and it is necessary to limit the subject by dismissing one interpretation which does not satisfy my judgment—the method of Collectivism.

My experience for five years in the Royal Navy and in connection with the Army in two wars has taught me the weakness of Collectivism, and living for 30 years as a Communist gives me some claim to speak on that system. Its chief defects perhaps may be summed up in two points :

1. That a dead and flat material equality constitutes a cruel spiritual inequality because personality varies so much in its needs.

2. That a communism which is possible for those who have seen the Heavenly Vision and eagerly consecrated themselves to its service lacks stimulation for those who have not seen and will not look.

In advocating Nationalisation, then, I do not advocate Collectivism.

Lord Emmott in "The Nationalisation of Industry" gives some shrewd and valid criticism of the Collectivist ideal of Nationalisation—the idea that business can be run on the same lines as the Post Office, by Civil servants and a responsible Minister in Parliament.

### THE MINISTER

i. He is temporary—for only two or three years.

ii. He is controlled by Political considerations and the necessity of vote-catching measures.

iii. He is subordinate to the general policy of the whole Cabinet with whom he stands or falls.

iv. He has little or no knowledge of the work of his department.

v. He has no first-hand knowledge or experience of the business.

vi. He has no personal interest in the prosperity of the business.

vii. He is almost impervious to complaints.

viii. He is difficult to remove without the rest of his

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colleagues, for the normal failures, such as slackness, inattention, bad judgment, lack of tact with Labour. He is only removable for tragic blunders, and as our present Ministry has shown, he may survive many blunders which threaten to ruin the nation.

### CIVIL SERVANTS

i. The present higher Civil Servants are admirable and faithful, courteous and dignified, but quite unfitted to control large industries.

ii. Big business qualities are inborn, not due to education; they are often developed late in life by competitive conflict which is the only way to test and develop them. They involve the courage of adventure; a willingness to take risks and to pay the penalty of mistakes; they cannot be learned at college; they involve decision, and prompt action, and cannot be in submission to Committees and red tape.

### COMPETITION IS NECESSARY

Not unrestrained competition, but the competition of emulation such as arises in football and many other games.

### THERE IS A BETTER ALTERNATIVE

That is, the plan of having an Independent Board, appointed but not controlled by Government or Guild Congress. This has been proposed in the U.S.A. in the "Plumb Plan."

## *THE PRINCIPLES OF GUILD SOCIALISM*

### NATIONAL OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

### THE DESTRUCTION OF WAGE SLAVERY

Bishop Westcott in "Social Aspects of the Christian Faith," p. 8, says: "Wage labour, though it appears to be an inevitable step in the evolution of society, is as little fitted to represent finally or adequately the connection of man with man in the production of wealth, as in earlier times slavery or serfdom."

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# *Towards a New Social Order*

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## FELLOWSHIP AND FREEDOM

### PRODUCTION FOR USE, NOT FOR PROFIT

### QUALITATIVE NOT QUANTITATIVE PRODUCTION

### PROPERTY

The Guild Socialist can tolerate private property on these conditions:—

i. Property for use in the expression of personality, but not property accumulated to give one man control over the lives of other men.

ii. Property must rest either on Force or on Function. If on Force, there is no remedy but violent revolution, and Karl Marx is right. If on Function—some useful service done for the community—then there is a moral appeal to righteousness and justice; cf. a doctor's service and a book-maker's parasitism.

### THE GRADUAL DECAY OF THE CASH VALUATION OF LIFE

The cash motive owes its strength to—

i. Lack of security for wife and children, education, opportunity and old age, which anxiety Guild Socialism would remove.

ii. Love of power over the lives of other men, which will not be tolerated.

iii. The inbred hostility and fear by which the competitive system has brought men and nations to regard one another as natural enemies instead of natural friends.

This cash mentality and cash valuation of life will gradually weaken, and finally disappear when necessities and opportunities are assured, love of power restrained, and friendship cultivated by co-operative work.

## NATIONALISATION

The Guild claims the Nationalisation of ownership of industry, for these among other reasons:—

### THE STATUS OF THE WORKER

With the abolition of wage slavery the worker will be consciously working for the good of the nation instead of for



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the private gain of the person who has bought his labour force.

### TRUSTS

Nothing can prevent combination in industry, vast trusts manipulating the machinery of Parliament, and wielding monopoly power by the restriction of output, and so exploiting the consumer. The only alternative to control by huge trusts seems to be national ownership.

### OPPORTUNISM

There is no need to apply the principle in any rigid way. Certain industries are communal by their nature, e.g., all concerned with communication—Telegraph, Telephone, Post Office, Railways, roads, canals, shipping docks. Others are natural monopolies, such as land, coal, water and air. These should be nationalised at the earliest possible moment. Other industries may be considered ripe for nationalisation as soon as they are trustified.

### AS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST PRIVATE CLAIMS

Whenever any economy or reform is attempted it is at present wrecked by the violent assertion of private claims, e.g., the immense waste of coal-working because of surface rights.

### CO-ORDINATION

Conflicting private interests prevent the co-ordination of interlaced industries, e.g., Nationalisation would enable coal, iron, electricity, railways and shipping to act together. Sixteen large electric stations at the pit mouths, we are told, would save £100,000,000 a year on our present wasteful system.

### SAVING OF WASTE

At present the Railways are managed by 253 Companies with 1350 Directors whose fees amount to £200,000 a year, and £36,500,000 a year is paid in dividends, exclusive of £12,500,000 on Debenture Stock and Loans. There are duplicated lines, termini, staffs, and porters; trains in competition; colossal waste in shunting, haulage of empty private trucks, goods destined for northern towns deliberately

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“influenced” to southern ports for the private gain of some Company which will get the haulage. In other industries, millions are spent on advertisements, clerical staffs, travellers, etc. Four millions a year is spent on lawyers’ fees in dealing with the land under our present system.

### THE CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES

The beauty of our country is ruthlessly destroyed for private gain. The coal, oil, land and forests are squandered regardless of the common wealth. The health of the nation, and the homes and family life have been most seriously injured.

### DEVOLUTION

National ownership will be with a view not to centralization but to devolution. Each industry may be dealt with on whatever method of devolution will best suit it; from the State to the National Guild, from the National to the District or Local Guild, so as to get the maximum of individual initiative and local freedom possible.

Already there has been a great measure of devolution to Municipal and Local Authorities of the control of public services; under various methods:—compulsory (education, etc.), communistic (parks, street lighting, etc.), graduated on assured ability to pay by use (trams, etc.), or by consumption (gas, etc.). Such varied methods of control and supply might regulate different Guilds.

### DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

Under the general control of the National Guild the Local Guild would be a self-governing unit, workers electing their foremen, and these the managers and representatives to each higher division, so that the National Guild would represent the economic freedom of all workers who were engaged in each particular phase of the nation’s activity.

### THE SPIRITUAL STATE

When the economic life of the nation has been entrusted to the Guild Congress, the Parliament would represent men as citizens. I endorse Samuel G. Hobson’s plea for the Spiritual State. Man is more than his trade. Classifica-

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tion by economic activity alone might harden into the Hindoo caste system. Humanity has many different aspects as shot silk presents different colours from various points of view. We want the economic life to develop character instead of destroying it. Man must lose his life to save it. The individual self must offer itself in sacrifice and service in the ever-widening circles of a larger self as man lives for his family, Co-operative Guild, Nation, Race, until Humanity realizes itself in God.

In the course of the discussions on National Guilds the following points were dealt with :—

### *FINANCE*

When the present Building Guild gets a contract the Co-operative Wholesale Society opens a credit in its favour, and charges  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  for a 14 days' loan; payment is required closely following the progress of operations. When the contract is between the Guild and the Local Authority wages and materials are paid for weekly, plus 5 %. An additional sum of £40 is paid on each house—£10 on the first joist in position, £10 on completion of the roof, and £20 on the completion of the house. The Co-operative Insurance Society guarantees the due performance of the contract. The Guild has no plant at present: if it had to build large factories it might have to issue loan-stock at a fixed rate of interest to raise the necessary money.

### *RATES OF PAY*

At present different rates of pay are in force in the Building Trade Guild for different grades of workers, but the Guild system aims at equality of pay for all the workers in each industry to be arrived at gradually; but different industries would have different rates—the mining industry, for instance, would have a higher rate than the building industry.

### *DISTINCTION BETWEEN WAGES AND PAY*

The wage system is the purchasing of a man's labour and using it for your own ends. Pay is the supporting of a man continuously.

### *UNEMPLOYMENT*

In the building trade a register will be kept of all the members of the Guild; a man will not be entered upon the register until he has worked sufficiently long in the trade to become identified with it. If on the register of a Guild a man would receive a standard rate of pay during unemployment, and the Guild would probably require him to enter upon some technical training or draft him into stand-by work. The number of men attempting to get a holiday on full pay would be small; the great majority would pull their full weight.

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### *MONOTONOUS WORK*

Under the capitalist system we cannot escape a good deal of monotonous work, often characterized as "soul-destroying"; under the Guild system there will be a demand for better articles requiring work more of the nature of craftsmanship for their production, and at the same time machinery will become much more highly developed so as further to relieve the worker where its use is necessary.

### *RELATIONS WITH THE PRESENT CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES*

The different departments of the C.W.S. would fall into their appropriate Guilds, and the Co-operative movement would become the nucleus of a Distributive Guild.

### *THE PRESENT EMPLOYERS*

There is no place in the Guild System for a present employer of labour *qua* employer, but administrative work would be required, the salary for which would be fixed by the Guild Committee. The inducement for an employer to join the Guild is not, therefore, a commercial one, but is simply that of joining the greatest industrial scheme ever attempted.

### *PROSPECTS OF THE SPREAD OF GUILD SOCIALISM*

If the Building Trade Guild is successful, the Guild system will be adopted by other industries, of which the railways should be one of the first. There will, for example, be no peace on American railroads until Guilds are formed. The mining industry would also adopt the system. Nationalisation is not an inevitable prelude to Guild Socialism but may be the outcome of it. The system would spread to other parts of the world on its merits, so that Guilds in the cotton and woollen industry in this country, at first in competition with industries abroad still under the present system, would be followed by Guilds in the same industries in other countries.

### *COMPETITION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT GUILDS*

As each Guild would constitute a monopoly, it appears that one or more Guilds might attempt to obtain for their members an undue share of the commodities produced, but this would be prevented by the basing of exchange values upon the social value of the labour, which will be governed by the social standard of life among the workers. In the constitution of the present Building Trade Guild, under no circumstances can its earnings be distributed as dividends; the purpose of the Guild is to serve the community, not to plunder it, and if any Guild became a pirate it would not succeed.

C. G. HOAG (HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA) said he had noticed the influence of Karl Marx on several of those who had spoken at the Conference. He heartily approved of reading Marx, but he hoped we should not accept and build upon those of Marx's doctrines which are erroneous. One of that author's views which was erroneous he felt



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sure—and he had spent some three years of study on just this point—was his view of the origin of interest, namely, that interest is simply stolen from the wage-workers. That several of those who had spoken at the Conference held this Marxian doctrine of interest was evident from their declaration that “all values are produced by labour.” The speaker hoped that we should build our Socialism on British Socialistic thought rather than on those doctrines of Marx which he regarded as errors. As an example of a Socialist movement that had avoided the errors of Marx, the speaker mentioned the Rochdale Co-operative Movement. He hoped he would not be understood as opposing Guild Socialism, which he regarded as very promising, and not at all inconsistent, if wisely worked out, with what he regarded as true economic principles.\*

\* After the meeting an informal debate on the origin and ethics of interest was held in the Keble College lounge. The anti-Marxian views expressed on that occasion by C. G. Hoag, somewhat extended and changed in form, are being published by him in a small pamphlet, called *The Island of Progress*, application for which should be made to him.

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# The Quaker Employers’ Proposals

*By J. Edward Hodgkin (Darlington)*

IT is much to be regretted that B. S. Rowntree, who took so large a part in the Quaker Employers’ Conference at Woodbrooke in the spring of 1918, could not be here to speak to the attitude taken by many Friends, holding responsible positions in businesses, both manufacturing and merchanting, towards the industrial problems of to-day. Broadly speaking, the attitude of the Conference, as will be seen from a study of the full Report, entitled “Quakerism and Industry,” was one of keen anxiety to improve conditions as far as possibly can be done *under present conditions*. Thus the Quaker Employers felt it to be no duty of theirs to discuss, and much less to approve, any of the far-reaching schemes for industrial re-organization which are in the minds of some of those present here. Their view was that employers are a class fulfilling certain necessary functions, while they admitted that modifications in the attitude and practices of employers were both desirable

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and necessary. It was agreed that the spirit of service rather than of gain or power should dominate the actions of the employer in his relations with employees, with customers, and with the public generally.

### *THE QUESTION OF WAGES*

The conclusions come to by the Conference may be briefly summarized under five heads, the first of which deals with the method of payment by wages. While not defending the system as ideal, the Quaker employer sees no practicable alternative. The wife of the worker is used to arranging her family life on the basis of a weekly budget; she is not, as a rule, well enough educated to plan her outlay on a scale of a month at a time. For this state of things we may all have a measure of responsibility, but the fact remains.

Then again, industry requires an ever-growing supply of capital. Each generation, it was estimated by Sir Hugh Bell a few years ago, needs about £300 per capita invested in plant and machinery to provide it with the means of earning a livelihood. Under the wages system this sum is collected by the capitalist by the use of the economic power he possesses. In any system of real co-partnership which abolished wages, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to secure the setting aside of capital for future expansion out of the profits of the industry. The worker would only benefit fractionally in his weekly income, and unless some form of compulsory saving or taxation were adopted, there would be no means of accumulating new capital out of industry.

As a matter of fact, wages are practically the whole value of any commodity one can think of—wages and the margin of profit secured at each stage of manufacture or handling. There is really no value in any so-called "raw material" till it has had labour expended upon it, for raw material which is incapable of being converted to a useful product by the application of labour, is to all intents and purposes valueless.

At the same time, the Quaker employer would like to see the wages system modified, and his suggestion is that a Basic Wage should be determined on, sufficient to allow the worker to marry and to provide for an average family.

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Above this there would be payable a "Secondary Remuneration" calculated on the energy and ability of the individual worker.

### *THE STATUS OF THE WORKER*

The second division of the subject relates to the status of the worker. The demand to take a larger share in the control of his activities is recognized as just, but cannot be conceded immediately, or perhaps even to the full extent. The worker should be admitted at once to a share in "industrial" control, by which is meant the decisions regarding hours of work, rates of pay, engagement and dismissal of employees, shop discipline, and other cognate matters. It is when the demand extends to matters connected with the provision and application of capital; the relations with bankers, shareholders, etc.; and the secrets of special processes or methods of carrying on the business, that the Quaker employer sees difficulties in acceding to it.

Naturally a business run on professedly Christian lines will do all that is possible to give Security of Employment to all its employees; and this, it was felt, should be a special charge upon those industries which are introducing labour-saving machinery more and more extensively. The improvement of Working Conditions should also constantly claim the attention of the employer, in spite of the fact that some Labour leaders openly state that the benevolent employer is the worst enemy of progress. For details of the proposals under these two heads, reference should be made to the full Report.

The last, and perhaps the least generally approved section of the Report, deals with the Application of Surplus Profits.

There was considerable divergence of opinion as to whether anything at all should be said on such a thorny subject; but the Report as issued makes the definite suggestion that after the payment of the "necessary" rate of interest upon capital, the surplus should not all belong to the shareholder, as at present, but should be applied for the benefit of the employees, the consumers (by reduction in prices), and the community generally.

In the above summary it has been my aim to present

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the views of the Quaker Employers as fairly as possible, without indicating my own personal views on the subjects dealt with.

The discussion which followed mainly dealt with the attitude of Labour to well-disposed employers. The opinion was expressed that Trades Union officials object to anything that tends to make the worker into a capitalist, and hold that if the workers are contented it is difficult to get them into a Trades Union. The object of the benevolent employer was two-fold :—

- (1) To do good to the workers ;
  - (2) To make larger profits by the better work resulting ;
- to both of which the workers objected.

S. G. HOBSON disputed these views. He said that the Trades Union leaders do not depend on discontent ; they altogether dislike a constant series of complaints and disputes. The best Trades Union organisations are among the best paid and most contented men. Trades Union officials, especially when responsible for large sums of money, don't want to fight ; they want a policy that will bear up all the members together ; they want to keep them unified.

With regard to the report, he said that this body of employers had taken up a *non possumus* attitude—that the system could not be changed, and they must make the best of it. He hoped that younger Friends would realise that a point had been reached at which there was going to be a change.

PAUL FURNESS (NEW YORK) said that although employers may be well-intentioned, the maxim that self-government is better than good government applied to industry as well as national affairs. There was very little of this yet, but he had seen enough of it to make him think it is not only better but more productive.

MARY GOODHUE (BALTIMORE) gave an account of the National Independent Federation of Clothing Manufacturers. This was established in July, 1919, when a national agreement was arrived at as follows :—

### **WORKING ARRANGEMENTS**

- (a) Piece-work rates are to be fixed every half-year.
- (b) An attempt is to be made to avoid unemployment by obtaining a wider knowledge of the state of employment in the different shops of each city and of the other markets of the U.S.A. This is to be done by a Board consisting of employers' managers, labour managers, and the Research Department for the city.
- (c) The Union is to abide by all decisions, and educate the workers to do so.



## Democratic Organization in the Leeds & Northrup Compy. Inc.

*By Morris E. Leeds (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

THE Leeds and Northrup Company (which is engaged in the manufacture of precision instruments and employs some 450 people) has been feeling its way toward an organization which will put into practice certain democratic ideals.

Our aim is to make the organization one that can be fitted into our present industrial system, because we believe that this system, evolved during the past 150 years, offers no serious hindrance to a more ideal development; that in spite of its glaring faults, its great and beneficent wealth-producing powers have been a tremendous advantage to our civilization which should be conserved; and that a more ideal system not only can but should be built on it and developed from it.

In order to have a clearly defined goal, we have sought to clarify for ourselves the conception of democracy in industry toward which we wish to work. In political life we think of democracy as a form of government in which all who attain the status of voters have an equal authority, but among those writers on industrial subjects who have proposed definite plans of democratic organization, few, if any, seem to have that conception of it.

Equality of opportunity is another expression of democratic idealism which may be contrasted with equality of power, and is one which it seems to us is much more reasonably applicable to industry. We believe that it should be the ideal of democracy in industry to insure equality of opportunity—not equality of power or equality of reward, but an equal chance for each to rise to that level of reward and power for which he is qualified.



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### **INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION**

The first element of our experiment which I shall describe has to do with the selection of the executive group, using that word in its wide sense as applied to all minor as well as major executives. The qualification for leadership in an ideal industrial organization is primarily the ability to make the industry render useful service to society in all its relations. Accordingly the executives must not only be competent, but must have a social sense of responsibility for the welfare of all those engaged in the enterprise, as well as for that of the public. We therefore make it obligatory that the controlling power shall be vested only in those actively engaged in the business, and that the executives shall be the real owners of the voting stock, and not responsible to absentee capitalists.

This is accomplished through a Trusteeship which controls the capital stock of the company. The owners of the Trustees' Shares, which are of two kinds, called Employees' Shares and Investment Shares, thus have the actual ownership and control of the company. The Investment Shares, like corporation preferred stock, have a fixed cumulative dividend of 8 per cent., and they have voting rights only when this dividend is not paid. The Employees' Shares, like corporation common stock, participate equally in all earnings of the company over the fixed investment share dividends, and they have full voting rights. These shares may be sold only to such employees as have been with the company for at least five years and who receive a salary of at least \$1,500 per year, but they are not sold by a set plan to anything like all of these. At any time that there is to be a new issue, the trustees, who are the qualified representatives of the holders of Employees' Shares, decide to what individuals new stock may be issued and how much shall be issued to each, it being the intention that this most qualified group shall select those who are most likely to contribute to the future welfare of the undertaking. When a holder of Employees' Shares goes out of the business for any cause, his holding is automatically converted into Investment Shares, which, as stated, draw a fixed and preferred dividend, but do not have a vote except in the contingency of the dividend not being earned. The Employees' Shares

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are sold, not given, to those to whom they are assigned. Their value is ascertained by a fixed method, depending on the earnings of the business for a number of years preceding the time of sale. It will be noted that this arrangement makes it possible to allow any employee of experience to become a holder of the controlling stock, and, further, that it intends to place the major holdings of this stock in the hands of those who are most competent to exercise control wisely.

### *THE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION*

The second element of our organization tending towards democracy has to do with a much larger group of people who are not actual, and some of them not even potential, executives. As the English Quaker employers have so clearly pointed out, this group must be adequately represented and through its representatives have an opportunity to discuss with the management a great range of problems which are of immediate interest to it. To meet this situation the Co-operative Association was organized a few years ago, and includes in its membership all of the employees of the company from the latest comer to the president. The Co-operative Association has for its object—quoting from the constitution—“To preserve and strengthen the traditional bonds of co-operation between the company and its employees to the end that through understanding and just dealing with one another they may promote their mutual welfare and may jointly render effective service to the users of scientific instruments and to the public.”

The Association functions through a Board of Councillors, which is elected at large by the proportional system of representation, each employee having one vote unless he has been with the company more than three years, in which case he has two votes, experience thereby being given additional weight.

The name “Co-operative” is properly descriptive of the activities of the Association in two ways. Its first purpose is co-operation among the employees in a wide variety of activities in which they can be mutually helpful. Among these may be mentioned athletics, entertainments (such as dances, dramatic clubs, etc.), lecture courses, acci-

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dent and sick relief associations, co-operative store, oversight of dispensary and lunch room, and the publication of a paper. The second manner in which the work of the Association is co-operative is in relation to the problems which have to do more directly with the business and in which the employees have a vital interest. Among these are the good order of all parts of the building and grounds, convenience and comfort of work places, locker rooms, washrooms, etc., plans for the assimilation of newcomers as rapidly as possible, hours of work, overtime pay, lateness and absence arrangements, holidays, procedure in safeguarding employees in case of discharge, and wages.

The Association has active committees on all of these subjects. Those which have to do purely with the activities of the employees as a group of people mutually associated, such as athletics and entertainments, function without any contact with the management of the business. Those who have to do with the second group of subjects, such as wages and hours of work, act in co-operation with committees on the same subject appointed by the management.

In regard to these matters, in which the Council gives active assistance in forming the company's policy, it does not have any actual power. The final authority rests with the management. There is always, however, an earnest effort on the part of both sets of members forming the joint committees to arrive at conclusions that will be acceptable both to the employees and to the management. Anyone who has dealt with similar situations will recognize that the Council has in its power to consider these subjects and to call for joint discussion of them with representatives of the management, very real if not formal powers, for the management could not lightly turn down recommendations arrived at after such careful discussion.

We hope that the contacts brought about by work on common committees and in other less formal ways may keep the management in sympathetic touch with all classes of employees and keenly alive to their needs as men and women, who, if industry is to perform its proper function, must be enabled to lead the self-supporting, self-respecting lives of good citizens. The management has profited by these contacts and fully expects to continue to do so.

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Through various forms of educational work and the activities of the Personnel Department we try to see that each worker is helped to advance as rapidly as his capabilities and the opportunities above him permit. We always seek to fill new positions by advancing our own people whenever there are any who are at all qualified, and thus keep the path of progress open to them.

It is no part of my purpose to attempt to estimate the possibility of a wider application of these particular plans. Nor would I have it inferred that I believe that any form of organization can in itself make much of a contribution to the solution of industrial troubles. In order to be useful an organization must be the expression of a right spirit in industry, a real desire to do justice among all of those who are employed in it, and to render worthy service to the public.

In closing, I must acknowledge obligation to the published information in regard to the Dennison Company; to the Filene Company for most valuable advice and information in connection with the Co-operative Association; and finally I must pay a particular tribute to the works of Ernst Abbe and his establishment of the Carl Zeiss Foundation to manage the famous optical works at Jena. Although we have copied little, if anything, from that organization, his splendid idea of dedicating his industry to the welfare of the totality of its co-workers, to the advancement of the art and science of optics, and to the good of the public, so magnanimously conceived, so firmly based on sound practice, and so magnificently successful long after his death, has been most inspiring.

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## American Railways, with Special Reference to the Plumb Plan.

*By M. Albert Linton (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

SINCE the great expansion of the American railroad system in the 1870's and '80's, a disposition had gradually grown up to regard the railroads simply as a means to private profit rather than public service. Cases occurred of railroad companies buying up competing lines at exorbitant prices, to the subsequent detriment of their stock-holders and ultimately to a great depreciation in some of the best railroad investments. Public indignation was aroused, resulting in a demand for control, and the consequent establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, under which traffic rates were to be fixed sufficient for expenses, depreciation, a fair return on capital, and a surplus. Some of the regulations made had the effect of hampering railroad development, and the whole result was a relative deterioration in railroad equipment. After the declaration of war, the railroads were taken over by the Government at the end of 1917. The pooling of resources greatly increased their capacity for service.

After the assumption of control by the Government, wages were raised to meet the urgent needs of the employees, but the cost of living continually increased, and after the return to private control, demands made by the railroad employees early in 1919 were held up until the Government plan to reduce the cost of living had been given a chance. There was, however, no decline in prices; it was found that an increase in wages led to a further increase in prices, and so on in a vicious circle.

In the summer of 1919 a Congressional Committee was considering the railroad problem, and Labour was asked if it had a programme to submit. The Plumb Plan was drawn up, and a Bill embodying it was introduced into the House of Representatives by Rep. Sims, of Tennessee.

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Strong opposition immediately arose, but some saw the importance of considering the proposal on its merits.

### *HOW THE PLAN WORKS*

The Government are to take over the title to the railroads. Fair compensation is to be paid to the owners on the basis of a valuation to be made by a Board of Appraisal, subject to review by the Court of the District of Columbia, with an ultimate appeal to the Supreme Court. The railroad executives claim a valuation of \$20,000,000 (say £5,000,000), while the railroad Brotherhood puts it at 60 per cent. to 65 per cent. of that amount, which is not very different from the aggregate value of all the outstanding railroad securities at the present time.

A National Railways Operating Corporation without capital stock is to be formed to operate the railroads. The board of directors is to be made up as follows :

One-third to be selected by the "official" employees, *i.e.*, the Presidents, Vice-presidents, managers, etc. ;

One-third to be selected by the "classified" employees, *i.e.*, the rank and file below managerial stations ;

One-third by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate.

This method of selecting the board is an attempt to establish a real partnership between those rendering the service and those (the public) for whom the service is to be rendered. Capital is relegated to its proper place and is not represented on the board. The whole country is to be divided into districts under the control of Regional boards made up on the same basis as the National boards.

A Philadelphia group studying the Plan felt that the proportion of representatives on the board would be better arranged as one-quarter from the "official" employees, one-quarter from the "classified" employees, and one-half representing the public, giving equal representation to operatives and community. Under this arrangement there would be less fear of domination by those operating the railroads.

The capital required will be obtained by the issue of loan stock at a fixed rate of interest, the element of risk being removed by government ownership. The public may

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be expected to be willing to exchange some of the securities they now hold for the bonds which would be issued, especially as they would be "gilt-edged." Provision would be made for the accumulation of a reserve fund which would also be administered by the government.

The traffic rates are to be under the control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Wages are to be dealt with by a special "central board of wages and working conditions" appointed by the board of directors in consultation with the employees' organizations, and with power of final decisions on wages, except where no majority can be reached, in which case the appeal is to the board of directors.

### *THE DIVISION OF THE SURPLUS*

Any surplus realised is to be divided equally between the operatives and the community, but where the community's share exceeds a certain percentage of the gross income, rates are to be correspondingly reduced. The operatives' share is to be paid to them as a percentage on the wages received during the period in which the surplus was made. The percentage paid to official employees is to be twice that paid to classified employees. The object of this provision was to prevent the two groups of employees from combining to apply any surplus to raise wages at the expense of the share which should go to the community, the idea being that the official employees would prefer the double percentage to the level increase. But it can be shown that if the wage increase is computed to absorb the entire surplus at an equal percentage to all employees, the "official" employees' share is greater than under the proposed scheme. This is a real danger and is one reason for the composition of the board suggested by the Philadelphia group. If losses occur they may possibly be due to faults of the operatives, but are far more likely to be caused by general business conditions over which the operatives have no control; the community should therefore bear the loss, and it must be taken into account when the rates are next adjusted.

If the government's share of the surplus is applied to the reduction of rates, the surplus accruing during the next period of operation will be reduced, and consequently the

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amount distributed to the operatives will be less, so that the operatives would conclude that efficient work on their part during one period meant a reduction of bonus in the next period. It is true that lower rates would tend to stimulate traffic and consequently increase the surplus, but a point would eventually be reached where a reduction would not have that effect. The Inter-State Commerce Commission, in fixing the traffic rates, would thus practically determine the rates of wages, so that the plan in its present form does not ensure genuine democratic control.

The bonded indebtedness is to be repaid by earnings, as under private ownership, and eventually entirely paid off so that interest charges will be eliminated.

Extensions and new construction are to be financed by the taxation of the communities which will be served by the new lines, and there is a provision enabling communities to initiate and pay for extensions.

The Plumb Plan would affect two million men, and the issue is likely to claim large attention in elections during the next ten years. The officials of the American Federation of Labour seem to be afraid that the Plumb Plan would undermine their position, but the rank and file are enthusiastically in favour of it.

The Plan stands the test of the three definite points adopted in the All Friends' Conference Minute :

(1) That interest should be limited. For the government bonds issued in compensation to the present owners would carry a fixed rate of interest.

(2) That private capital should not be the " residuary legatee " of surplus profits. For any surplus is to be divided between the operators and the community, and capital is to have no share in it.

(3) That there should be democratic control. For the control is in the hands of a partnership between the community and the operatives.

The important feature of the Plumb Plan is that it is based on democratic co-operation for public service rather than on the contest for private gain. It provides an opportunity for the release of human personality and creative ability, which are the supreme things.



# Our Responsibility for Influencing the Social Order

## I. BRITAIN

*By Mabel C. Tothill (Bristol)*

I DO not propose to say anything in detail about the changes that must take place in the Social Order before it can express even faintly the spirit of Christ. The much-dreaded revolution has already begun in the war, and its consequences have so permeated the thoughts of all, that whether they will or no, the revolution has begun in themselves. It may come slowly or swiftly, but it is sure.

What is the responsibility of our Society for the direction which it shall take? Let us recognize at once that it is the *character* of the directing thought, rather than the details of the consequent changes, that is all-essential; these latter may take most chamelion-like forms, but they will eventually shape themselves rightly if rightly inspired. Here comes our strength. For a tiny body like ourselves to attempt to alter the course of world's affairs, which are being moulded by the past as well as by the present, would be ludicrous. Yet could we give to men some revelation of their true selves, of other people's true selves, could we make clear before their eyes the transforming power of the consciousness of God within us individually and corporately, we might be the instruments of such a revolution as has not yet been dreamed of. There are certain ideas at work in the world which are threatening men's peace more than any specific changes. As of old, there is the view that the *status quo* must be maintained, that methods which have survived so many centuries must be good, and that the authority which ordains them must be supported. The holders of this view are lessening in number, but they stand at bay and may grow desperate.

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There are those, on the other hand, who, while overthrowing them, would set up another tyranny, that of majority rule, and would coerce all who differ from them in the belief that the good of the community can be reached by the sacrifice of the individual good.

### *NO FINAL SYSTEM*

To those who believe in the Inner Light, who believe that the Spirit of God dwells in man and leads him in the way he should go, there can be no finality in any political or industrial system. Nor can there be in a State, whether autocratic or so-called democratic, any authority which rises supreme over the man's own conscience. This has been held against opposition and persecution from the earliest days of our Society and re-affirmed in our own, and will never be given up, for it is the most fundamental conception of our faith. It has been said at one of our meetings that democracy is inherent in Quakerism. That is so, but it is a transformed democracy that rises above majority votes, that governs by the consent of all the governed. Are there those who do not believe that such a democracy is possible? Some at least know better. Those who were in our All Friends' Conference on Thursday morning last well remember how the tides of differing opinion ran high, how the preservers of the *status quo* and the Christian revolutionaries struggled for the expression of that which each sincerely felt to be the truth. And they will remember with even more clearness the following day, when, in a spirit of harmony and unity, an atmosphere of spiritual perception so rarified as not to be breathed for long by many frail mortals, the solution was found and the decision made. They know that could be achieved by a nation which had surrendered its will to the teaching of the Spirit.

We have as a Society recognized our individual responsibility for ourselves and our immediate surroundings, but I believe we have need to enlarge our scope, and to lay far more stress upon the importance of corporate life and thought. That part of the State which might be charged with the duty of dealing with the spiritual problems of the world, as suggested by Mr. Hobson, will appeal to many, but the economic control of industry demands no less the

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services of those who see in every man a potential Christ.

If, then, we have great vision, we have great responsibilities, and a great need for a careful training, and a humble dedication of ourselves to the showing of the vision to others. And how, then, shall we reveal to others that which we see? There has come to us, more than to any other religious body, an opportunity. That has been given us partly by the faithfulness of our ancestors, partly by the faithfulness of a few in our midst to-day. The reputation for honesty in business gives an entrance to the mind of the business man; that of sincerity and self-sacrifice to the manual worker. A Socialist leader recently said that when he talked to men of religion they would not listen, but when he said he was a Quaker they altered their attitude.

### *OUR LACK OF IMAGINATION*

But first let us turn to our own Society. How far are we helping our fellow-members to a true understanding of the implication of Christianity in social life? How far are we convincing them that the taking of an undue share of the world's wealth, goods, or opportunities is a wrong to our neighbour? How far are we even making known to them the conditions under which so many of the toilers live? Belonging as they do chiefly to the middle-class, they dwell apart and they lack imagination. Most of all do we need to reveal to such the idealism latent and expressed in the Labour movement for the life which does not consist of bread alone; the desire for freedom, creative action, poetry, colour, music, and beauty of life. Till we can do this we shall do nothing to bridge the gulf that separates the classes from the masses. I believe our first task is with the middle-class, because most of us talk their language and can expound things to them in a way they can understand, whereas the manual worker's language often only terrifies or annoys them.

But we can build no bridges unless we have a firm landing place on the other side. Are we of the class or of the mass—or do we refuse to be labelled as of either? Are we set against the class war because we assert the unity of men? But we cannot accept the privileges of class, and not be counted as of that class. I appeal to all here to

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consider whether they may not be called upon to surrender privileges voluntarily, and enter into the life of the people for whose welfare they strive. Thus will be ended the patronage, the condescension, the attitude of the benevolent employer, the philanthropic worker—it will then be not “for them,” but “for ourselves.” The steps that might be taken are many, and each must find his own. To few will it be given to yield the position of employer and become a fellow-workman. But by many the privileges of large houses, comfortable living, guarded education, freedom from manual work may be surrendered. Speaking to a manual worker one day about a man who had given up a high military position to join the ranks of Labour, I foolishly said, “He had nothing to gain by it,” and was reproved with the words, “He has gained fellowship.”

Friends, it is true. Have we found the joy of fellowship in such an assembly as this? Let me assure you there is a fellowship among the toilers that is not dependent upon conferences, that exists day by day in home, factory, and street corner. Here shall you find that it is as a matter of course that needs are met, sorrows shared, sacrifices made. Which of us here would, in addition to our daily housework, go out charing in order to support an Austrian child, as one of my friends has done. Fellowship is life, for the Spirit of Christ in each leaps to the other and overcomes the barriers of flesh. So the surrender of material may be but the dropping of a burden to take by both hands the friends that welcome us.

I do not wish it to be assumed for a moment that I suppose that good-will and fellowship without action will meet the situation. They will stimulate our imagination and suggest remedies. But as the industrial conditions have been dealt with very fully, and other persons are speaking on education and legislation, I have confined myself to a general statement.

The solution of our problems, political and industrial, lies first in a recognition of the divinity of man, and then in a corporate, united effort to give full play to the personality. Let us count no effort too great; no act too insignificant that may enable us to give expression to this.



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### II. SOUTH AFRICA

*By Leonard Howe (Johannesburg)*

**I**N all that goes to make up the social system of South Africa there is naturally much that is analogous to the social system of England and elsewhere. The commercial and industrial development, the political system, principles of education, etc., as far as these apply to the white population, have moved *pari passu* with the general world-wide tendency, and are responsive thereto to-day either by way of progress or reaction.

There are two problems, however, which are in a peculiar degree South African. The first is that of the relationship between British and Boer, and the second is the Native problem. It is the latter problem only that I desire to bring to your sympathetic attention.

There are in South Africa, apart from the countless millions north, about seven millions of the native and coloured races, as compared with about one and a half million whites. The natives are among the most prolific people in the world, and are not hampered by restrictions which have seriously affected Europeans. They vary greatly in development and character.

A considerable number of natives have come under the influence of educational institutions and in contact with European civilization. Opinion is much divided as to the ultimate capability of the native to receive and benefit by the new ideas and thought he is now in contact with. One thing seems sure, and that is, that slowly and surely his environment is changing his manners and outlook, and it is practically certain that one day he will awaken to a consciousness of his position and power which will radically affect the social life of South Africa.

The problem with which we are faced is how to do justice, not to the native alone, but also to those of our own race. Whether we like it or not, the native is already woven into the fabric of our social system. Our civilization and his semi-barbarism are inextricably interlocked in every phase of domestic and industrial activity.

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It is a difficult business when one race seeks to guide the destiny of another; but from the native point of view, European help and guidance is a necessity, while our only moral right in the country is the advancement of the natives.

While there is unfortunately no definite and clear-cut policy for dealing with the native problem in South Africa, there are various ideas and influences at work, some of which I will briefly refer to.

Militarist aims are fostered by the fear lest the natives should unite in throwing off the yoke of the white by force.

Fear, again, lest the native should undercut white labour in industry prompts the trade unions to adopt the colour bar whereby natives are forbidden to do certain kinds of work.

### *THE VALUE OF MISSIONS*

Among those who are sincerely trying to do their duty towards these child races there is practical unanimity as to the value of missions. To bring the native into touch with the manifold temptations of civilized life away from his home discipline and natural environment and leaving him to welter there untaught and without guidance, is to prepare to reap the whirlwind and is utterly unworthy of the race to which we belong. While the industrial training and general education received in mission schools is good, the chief benefit is in the measure in which the moral and spiritual faculty is developed. Probably the greatest means to this end to-day is found in the character of the missionaries themselves, who, by their everyday dealings with the native, show by their helpfulness, fairness, and devotion, what true Christianity means.

The policy of segregating the native is tenaciously held to by many. The chief argument in favour of segregation seems to be the danger of race mixture as a result of constant contact. It will probably be found that the great mass of natives will remain segregated in their own reserves and territories, but it is much too late to adopt a complete policy of segregation.

One of the chief causes of the decline of primitive races has been the introduction of European drink. The vast mass of the Abantu races are as yet untouched by this evil. Laws have been passed making it illegal for natives to

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have in their possession or consume any intoxicants other than their own native beer. There is, however, a considerable traffic in illicit liquor, mainly promoted by aliens and the poor whites, which is to-day a prolific source of trouble to the police and full of danger and degradation to both white and black.

The conscious and articulate native opinion is becoming more and more insistent upon obtaining certain privileges and rights to which they contend all mankind are entitled. These include the franchise, the right to own property, the abolition of past law restrictions and annoyances, the chief of self-government, industrial equality, and free education.

Time will only permit of reference to one of these, viz., industrial equality, or the abolition of the industrial colour bar.

### *THE INDUSTRIAL COLOUR BAR*

The pressure of the growing native population upon the land, unaccompanied by the adoption of improved methods of agriculture, has resulted in a food shortage within the native reserves and territories. This, combined with an ingenious and subtle imposition of taxes, forces the native into the industrial market. In the Johannesburg district, the largest industrial centre in South Africa, there are to-day probably well over a quarter of a million natives working for white employers. The industrial colour bar is brought about either by government regulations, the written or unwritten law of Trade Unions, or by custom, whereby the coloured worker is forbidden to do certain kinds of skilled or semi-skilled work. The general opinion is that it is undesirable to bring the white and coloured worker into competitive conflict, in view of the vast difference in their respective standards of living. The natives are in some degree resentful of this restriction, and the resentment is undoubtedly growing and will continue to do so. The Press is divided on the subject, as is the Church. A number of persons actuated by humanitarian or religious motives condemn outright the industrial colour bar, while a considerable body of employers desire its abolition. At present the position is aggravated by the fact that several of the gold mines are on the verge of becoming unpayable, and the proprietors

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argue that a relaxation of the labour restrictions would prolong the life of the mines. There are thus many motives involved. An interference with the colour bar for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour would to-day impel the Trade Unions to take the most drastic steps, which would not, in my opinion, stop short of revolution and perhaps civil war. On the other hand, a deep-seated and growing discontent among an undeveloped and preponderate people is a menace which threatens the very existence of the white population. The position is grave in the extreme. It is not hypothetical, for already there have been ugly incidents with increasing bitterness, which are full of foreboding. The solution of the problem of the colour bar is thus the most urgent of all South Africa's social problems.

If the Government were only to deal with the industrial aspect of the problem seriously, and so organize industry as to absorb in profitable and congenial employment all who seek by labour to earn their bread, the colour bar could be removed with the utmost safety. Our responsibility, however, does not rest with looking to the Government alone. A public conscience and concern must be created, and experiments tried in the spirit of sympathy, trust, and adventure.

Among the ways in which this may be done, the following may be mentioned: The establishment of a Friends' School, such as is already being considered, would conduce not only to the radiation of Quaker thought now, but to the promotion of the right outlook in the men and women of to-morrow. The service of Friends upon educational bodies in insisting upon opportunities being afforded for the study of the native problem in schools and colleges in a broad and sympathetic spirit. The enlightenment of public opinion through native welfare societies. The application of guild principles to industry, and the need for young Friends to consider earnestly whether South Africa does not offer a field of labour wherein, in the spirit of service and sacrifice, those great truths which are bound up with all we mean by Quakerism, may not be applied to the healing of the nation.



## Our Responsibility to Influence Publicity

*By Walter R. Bayes (Leeds)*

**T**HERE cannot be any need here to enlarge upon the fact of our Responsibility. If it has not come to you I do not feel that any words of mine will impel you. The Divine order seems to me this: that first we must seek the Truth, next we must live it, then we must proclaim it. I take it that if we have the root of the matter in us we shall proclaim it—we cannot help ourselves, it will come out. If we have not, it will not, and no amount of talking about responsibility will make any difference.

But I take it that what you want me to do is to discuss with you the opportunities of publicity for twentieth century disciples eager to reach the multitude.

First, then, who do we want to reach? At the moment in this Conference we are reaching out to America, India, South Africa; but our purpose generally will be to reach the people round about us. I do not find any starting point to surpass that most serviceable of parables which begins, "Behold, a sower went forth to sow." First of all, the sower had seed; seed he knew to be good because he obtained it from a reliable source, and out of his past experience he knew that with the right conditions of good soil and the sun and rain provided by a beneficent Providence it would yield that which sustains life—that would give fulness of physical life and therefore spiritual life too, because life is twofold and without the body the spirit of a man has no habitation. Then he looked for a likely place. He did not go on to the barren mountain-top where little patches of green are cut up by grey limestone outcrop; nor into the crowded High Street on Saturday night. But he hit upon a patch that had grown good stuff before, and he prepared that and planted his seed there.

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Now I take it we are satisfied about our seed. Our neighbours have compelled us to make careful examination of it and to apply some tests. We have been sowing for a season in a specially chosen and well cultivated field. What about it? How is the seed going on in the Society of Friends? Have we not struck some very stony patches and discovered a lot of weedy things running to seed and producing more weeds? Again and again we shall have to plough up and month by month put more enrichment into the soil and get a favourable condition for a healthy plant to grow. We shall have to dig deep. It is only when you get busy sowing and looking for fruits that you find how impoverished the soil is.

### *THE METHODS OF WOOLMAN*

It is not possible to estimate the results of publicity. We may be building better than we know. We cannot tell how far any message reaches, but nobody will pretend that the Society of Friends has adopted the Points of the 1916 Conference as a habit of mind. Look at that spirited correspondence in the *Friend* within the past fortnight. Many avenues of publicity have been opened out. Conferences, printed reports of conferences, leaflets, booklets, speeches, meetings, and the regular, never-failing article in the *Friend* month by month. Study Circles we have too, and yet the body of the Society of Friends is not with us in real earnest. Some of the members seem very determined not to be converted. There must still be more meetings, more leaflets, new methods of approach, and a good deal more personal persuasiveness in the manner and method of John Woolman.

Whilst we are entitled to regard the Society of Friends as the first patch to be cultivated, it may be that we expect too much. We have to remember, it has been fruitful over a number of years. Perhaps it needs a rest. It may be that there are some capital fields of virgin soil outside, just waiting to grow the seed we have ready to sow. I do not think they give us much anxiety. We can reach them. They have understanding. The big thing before us is the huge mass of wrong thinking that we have to wipe out and replace by a Truth and the implications of that Truth. That is a real task.

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The ideas that we want to kill are the heirlooms, the treasured, aye, sacred, heirlooms of generations—the ideas upon which men and women order their lives and arrange for their deaths. We have set out to shake them in every single custom or habit or tradition that they follow from the moment they get up to the moment they go to bed from Sunday morning to Saturday night. They have to begin at the beginning. They must be born again.

What sort of publicity is going to do that?

Let us work back from our known experiences. Articles in the *Friend*, leaflets, speeches, have not done it in the Society of Friends. Something has been done. I have seen the quills of the fretful porcupine quiver and rise straight up. I have heard Quakers in their wrath engage in much heated and worldly conversation. These may be the pangs of a new birth. They don't look much like it, but they may be.

Well then, we can pass on from the experience gained, to adventures we might pursue in the main highways where the crowds are, and the quieter by-ways. We have not yet explored all the media of publicity. There is the Drama. You know—some of you—the power of that simple dramatized story of Tolstoy's "Where Love is God is." Drinkwater's "President Lincoln" has been tolerated and "The Third Floor Back" was not resented. On the films there is Zangwill's "In the Melting Pot."

I think we want a lot more platform appeal—first-class platform service, and I am sure an urgent need is for a new set of text-books for schools.

### *THE POWER OF THE PRESS*

Now as to the Press. First of all, what is Press publicity worth? We must think that out as candidly as we can before we decide whether we want it. In general I agree with Graham Wallas that the influence of the Press is ephemeral. He says "their effect (that is, the newspapers) is produced at once in the half-hour that follows the middle-class breakfast or in the longer interval on the Sunday morning when the workman reads his weekly paper. When the paper has been read the emotional effect fades rapidly away." I agree in the main that is true. I think it applies, for instance, to the newspaper articles on the May-

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flower Ter-centenary. But there must be a distinction drawn. I do not think this judgment quite applies to the articles written by men who have won the prestige of leadership ; men like Gardiner, Garvin, Blatchford, Bottomley. Their writings do carry at least for a week.

Proceeding to examine the subject more closely, Graham Wallas finds one of the chief arts of the newspaper writer consists in presenting his views with that kind of repetition and reiteration which, like the phrases of a fugue, constantly "approaches but never oversteps the limit of monotony." That I take to be the inner meaning of whatever influence the Press carries. By constantly saying the same thing the writer gets it into the reader's head that it is so. That way we get the "stunt." The War and Social Order Committee has the idea all right. The monthly article in the *Friend* is the reiteration and repetition, and members of the Committee are making adventurous experiments on the fugue.

Even if we agree that the influence of the Press is ephemeral, I still think that publicity through that channel is well worth while—if you can get in. This brings us to the consideration that our Press is what is commonly called a Capitalist Press—it is part and parcel of the existing social system and is not concerned to lend itself to the advocacy of Truths that do not suit its policy.

The plan of the fugue should be this. Assuming we have the writers, they must be thoroughly imbued with the principles as they are presented in the Conference Message of 1916, and then as frequently as possible present the problem of the day—a Labour dispute, a new War, Ireland, Housing, anything—from that point of view. It is no use expecting that an Editor will accept a repetition and reiteration of the eight points as they are set out in the leaflet, but if the work is well done, readable, interesting, and a distinctive contribution to the discussion of the question of the hour there is good prospect of it being accepted. The work is not easy. The writer must have always in mind a man at the back of the scene whom he will never see, whose weapon of offence is a blue pencil, and who has no doubts about his own view as to what the public wants. Whatever the writer has to say he must remember that he is saying it to that man, and so far as his experience permits he must put himself in the



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place of that man. You have not to think so much of the psychology of the crowd as the psychology of the man who thinks he knows the crowd. I feel sure it can be done and that there is a great place to be won by the men and women who can do it. If you have any doubts think of the presentation of a Quaker message by Maurice Hewlett.

### *QUAKER JOURNALISTS WANTED*

What I feel about this is, that we do not want to thrust upon the newspaper reader the fact that we are Quakers or that we are a War and Social Order Committee or to worry them with an explanation of what we mean by our name; but the need is for a presentation of a point of view in its application to the affairs of the moment. Every important daily paper now has its specialist in Labour matters, and there is more willingness to open the columns to the discussion of such problems. Thousands of people are ready to listen to well-considered judgments, and I think it quite possible that articles such as I have suggested could be got into the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Daily Express*. But there are other papers to which the entry might be easier. Their names will occur to you. What we do want is a group of writers. Quakerism has produced distinguished journalists. You know them well. I see no reason why the War and Social Order Committee should not do the same.

And that leads me to another point. If publicity is desirable then we must produce our publicists. We must encourage our youth to see that herein lies a great opportunity for service. It is training and environment that produces writers, and the Quaker outlook has been much more directed to tea and cocoa and banking—and now one must include coal—than to writing. Journalism has changed. Perhaps it is not the career many fathers would have approved for a son 30 years ago, but to-day it has a good repute, and—except over the Border, where I had a recent opportunity of observing the habits of my Scottish colleagues—they are a temperate body of men. As a career it may bring disappointments. In quite recent days we have seen the pilot dropped because of difference in ideas. Donald, of the *Chronicle* (his case was an outstanding example of

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what may happen under the capitalist ownership), Chesterton, Belloc, Gardiner, but they have found other means of saying what they want to say. There is a young school in journalism growing up—college or university trained—thinking much on the lines of our points, and they are coming into the places of publicists. These young men are not of us in the sense that they wear our label, but they are going to do some of the work we want to see done. That must give us gratification, but that is not enough. We have a work to do and we cannot delegate it. I want to make the further point that there is something in the Quaker training and tradition and in the intensity of the Quaker faith that makes for greatness. We get more quickly at the essence of some aspects of Truth, and this as a start is great gain. We want men so gifted that they can play with their subject, men with a charming style, an artistic sense, and behind these gifts a sound belief in the rightness of their principles. If we count publicity as essential we must do it ourselves. We cannot let it out to a first-class booster—the kind of thing that was done for the Salvation Army and the Workers' Educational Association. And we are not concerned to push ourselves or our organization. We have an idea. That idea is our concern, and we want to get it into the minds and thoughts of other people so deeply embedded that they are impelled to make it their way of life. But as we are considering the openings for preaching we must not lose sight of the importance of practice. The public has no use for Pious Resolutions. When we have something to show in practical outcome we shall be talked about. When we all with one accord—the whole body of the Society of Friends—adopt the eight points as our way of life, as we have laid down our arms, we shall get publicity, a really valuable publicity that will make men and women think.

In answer to questions, Walter R. Bayes also dealt further with the following subjects:—

### *ASSURING PUBLICATION AND PREVENTING DISTORTION*

The Federated Press is now furnishing an increasing supply of news from a Labour point of view to an increasing number of newspapers, and a plan has been proposed for preventing the distortion of foreign

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news. No system has yet been organised for preventing articles being discarded which editors consider are not what the public wants, but this matter is always at the back of journalists' minds.

### *THE CINEMA AND DRAMA*

There are already a number of plays which would serve as propaganda, e.g. :—

*Cinema* : "Broken Blossoms."

*Drama* : "The Skin Game," John Galsworthy.

"The Servant in the House," Charles Rann Kennedy.

"The Terrible Meek," ditto.

"X=O: A Night of the Trojan War," ditto.

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## Our Responsibility to Influence Legislation

(1) *By Lady Barlow (London)*

**I**T is an extremely difficult question to answer—how far the Society should engage in politics, because instances can be given in abundance of cases such as the political development of Philadelphia, where, owing to the withdrawal of Quaker influence, their own city of Quaker foundation, a state of corruption resulted which has become a byword.

On the other hand, it will be generally admitted by partisans of various political creeds that English public life would have been very much poorer had John Bright never become a member of Parliament.

The whole question may easily be carried farther back. How right is a Quaker to take part in public matters? We know that among the Plymouth Brethren it is held unlawful ever to cast a vote for local councils, to say nothing of a parliamentary contest.

But the teaching of Quakerism, as may be seen in the Book of Discipline, and in the Queries which are addressed to our meetings is, very much opposed to this, and insists upon

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the duties of citizenship and the obligation to conform to laws.

I consider that immunity from or a refusal to participate in military service brings with it an increased obligation to take part in government, local and imperial.

Probably few things would make war less probable than the presence of men of Quaker upbringing, training, and conviction, in some of our Departments of State. I have in mind more especially the Foreign Office.

Yet I cannot help seeing as the years go by that it is probably only on rare occasions that the weight of the Society should be thrown in as supporting one party or another.

We are not all of one mind in the Society. Indeed, some of our members weaken our position by their support of war.

For while the State is organized on the foundation of armed force, it is willing to recognize a religious body whose tenets have for 250 years been clearly opposed to military service, it makes the situation more complicated if it can be urged that this is not an essential doctrine and is only held by individual Quakers.

Fortunately, at the critical period during the Great War our official minutes all show that this is not the case, and that the Society stands immovable in its opposition to the use of armed force.

Adam Smith holds in his "Wealth of Nations," that a great variety of opinion adds to the richness of a country.

I have been considering how far such a statement could be applied to our Society.

Probably the greater variety of personality it embraces the better. But unity of belief on fundamental subjects such as opposition to war can only be a strength, as far as I can understand the question.

Generally speaking, our members should take their share in politics, but the action of the Society moving as a whole, and officially, in that direction should be very carefully scrutinized and most jealously guarded.



## OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO INFLUENCE LEGISLATION (*cont.*)

(2) *By C. G. Hoag (Haverford, Pa.)*

OUR first and greatest responsibility in respect to legislation is to decide aright what should be the *objects* of the legislative measures we are to support. What sort of social order, among those that seem possible at this time, is best? On what principles must such an order rest? And how can *legislation* help? How shall we go about making these momentous decisions in respect to the ends of legislation? On the one hand by *hard study* and on the other by keeping in *actual working contact with real conditions and plain people*.

Our second duty is to see that the measures we are to support are drafted well. This may seem strange advice to Britishers present, for the more important legislation for this whole island comes from but one legislature, which in the preparation of bills draws upon the experience and talent of the whole country. But it is advice that we Americans need solely. In America we have forty-eight State Legislatures besides our National Congress, and most of these bodies pass, every session, bills of importance that are more or less crude and faulty merely because no one who has the necessary training gives them the necessary attention. In America we ought to write, or re-write, more of the bills ourselves.

Our third duty in respect to good measures, expertly drafted, is to get them passed. In this phase of the work also, as in those already mentioned, the people who count are those who have become specialists in the subject. Sooner or later every proposed reform that has any substantial backing gets its day in court, so to speak, its opportunity to be heard by legislative committees or others who are framing or passing bills. And then the person who is needed is the person who *knows*.

Our fourth duty in respect to legislation is to see that it is well executed. On this I will not enlarge.

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A few words, now, of direct advice and appeal to the younger Friends from America.

Reform legislation comes in America largely as the result of the work of reform organizations. Most people cannot affect legislation much single-handed. Therefore join reform organizations—a limited number, and selected for the real social importance of their work.

In one field of reform, if circumstances permit, become a specialist, preferably a paid professional specialist, but in any case a specialist. This does not mean that no one should belong to several reform organizations : it means only that although we may do well to belong to several, perhaps many, we should nevertheless not fail to become master in the field of one. One specialist is worth far more than a dozen dilettanti. And as you develop into a specialist, the master of one field, you will be surprised and delighted to find that, instead of merely writing letters of protest to the newspapers and to your Congressmen, you are looked to for counsel by important organizations working in fields related to your own, heard by legislative committees, and, finally, given a free hand in writing the bill that is destined to become law. Young Friends who want to mould the future should devote seven hours a day to work, preferably for pay, that will put them in line to run the organizations and write the bills a few years hence.

One final word, about propaganda. We shall do well to remember, when working for reforms, that a thousand people are convinced by demonstration to every one who is convinced by argument. It is more important, therefore, even from the point of view of mere propaganda, to see that a reform for which legislation is passed is well administered than it is to ask other communities to pass such legislation. If it works well, the newspapers and the reviews will tell the world all about it without cost to the reformers.

If any young Friends present want to enter upon social service in America and do not know what fields to enter, I shall be glad to give them some suggestions. I know of several organizations doing work of the most important character which are in need of more devoted workers.

## Our Responsibility to Influence Education

(1) *By Charles E. Stansfield (Reading)*

**R**USKIN said: "Two people cannot both have the same thing." This holds in the material sphere, but does not hold in the spiritual sphere. If I share an idea with another it comes back to me enriched; in fact I do not possess it perfectly until I share it. In the spiritual realm, until you have given a thing away, you have not got it.

There existed before the war a world-commonwealth of letters. All peoples had a community of interest that has been broken down, but is going to be restored. The great intellects of all nations are open to us, as are those of our own nation. The hand-workers of the world are to a large extent shut out from this. The result is that there is a great cleavage in society between the educated and the uneducated, deeper than the cleavage between rich and poor, or between capital and labour. Those on either side find that they cannot share their interests.

### *ENGLISH "PUBLIC SCHOOLS"*

This is further emphasized in England because we have two systems of schools, one for "the classes" and one for "the masses." The education of a son of well-to-do parents generally proceeds as follows: First he is taught at home by a governess, then sent away from home to a costly preparatory school, and from there to a costly private school called a "Public School," where he mixes with other boys from similar homes, living in an aristocratic atmosphere. The Public Schools are the stronghold of militarism and class prestige and dominance.

This system dates from the middle ages; the other system has grown up more recently—since the passing of the Education Act of 1870. In this system a boy is educated

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in a public Elementary School up to the age of 14, and for the last 18 years he has been able to proceed from that to a Secondary School, also under the English Board of Education.

Under the influence of these two systems the thought of the country has been cut in two. The situation is only slightly mitigated by the existence of scholarships, by means of which some of the brightest and most promising of the pupils in the Elementary Schools are transferred to the "Public Schools," i.e., to private Secondary Schools. It has sometimes been suggested that this should be paralleled by dull boys being excluded from "Public Schools," but the rejoinder has been that a dull boy gets as much benefit from the Public Schools as those brighter than himself.

The system is entirely wrong when judged by the Quaker ideal of personality. There are Friends who have taken the view that it was their duty to send their children to public Elementary Schools knowingly exposing them to the risks of physical and moral infection that are present there. If parents of the middle classes would do this, they would be likely to take a far deeper interest than they do now in the carrying on of the public Elementary Schools and what is done in them.

### **"SPIRITUAL ROBBERY"**

Besides the interests of the individual boy or girl, we should consider the enormous waste of intellectual and moral power when such a large proportion of children do not get the educational advantages they are capable of profiting by. The fullest possible education is the inalienable birthright of every boy and girl. It should be free. The worst robbery perpetrated by the present system is this spiritual robbery.

For the type of education we wish for, Friends are referred to the report of the English Commission IV. Education should aim at freeing the human spirit—at giving it the largest liberty. The teacher is the greatest factor in this process, for freedom of spirit is communicated by contagion from someone who has already got it. It is a thing you cannot pay for, for you cannot correlate spiritual values and money values. I therefore regret that the spirit of trades



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unionism has entered so largely into the teaching profession. It was inevitable that it should do so, for of all people the teacher must live the fullest life in order that he may give the fullest measure, and if the nation will not provide him with the necessary means to live that life he must plead his need.

There is a great sphere of service for the Quaker teacher in the public schools, elementary and secondary, of this country; the Society has got too much absorbed in its own schools. There are now 220 Friends teaching in public elementary schools, but only 80 of these have been educated in our own boarding-schools; the remainder have gone through the elementary schools themselves, and do not take, therefore, with them the Quaker influence, except in a very limited sense. We have great opportunities in the public elementary schools, public secondary schools, and the new continuation schools established by the Education Act of 1918. These new schools are to be conducted during employers' 'time, always before seven o'clock in the evening. The Adult Schools, too, afford a vast sphere of influence for Friends, and there is a great place for them on local administrative bodies who have charge of education in their own areas.

But beyond this we should seek to co-operate with the Independent Labour Party and the Co-operative Guilds. These bodies are prepared to receive and to welcome the ideas we are desirous of instilling. The Workers' Educational Association has been bringing together thoughtful workers who have a desire for intellectual culture and those of university education who are prepared to teach, advise, and help. It has changed the intellectual climate of this country, and is largely responsible for a growing desire for education among the workers.

The economic problem requires Education for its solution, and Education is a wider term than Conversion; for while Conversion is a change of purpose, Education involves not only a change of purpose but also a widening of ideas.

## RESPONSIBILITY TO EDUCATION (*cont.*)

(2) *By Agnes L. Tierney (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

**T**HERE is a tremendous difference between the educational system of England and that of the United States. In the United States the Public School must defend itself; practically all children, rich and poor, go to the Public Schools, except in some great cities where private schools have sprung up in small number. There are very few boarding-schools in proportion to the population.

The first great experiment in self-government was the George Junior Republic. William George, of New York, took out a lot of the most troublesome type of boys and girls to a farm in New York State, and there established a "Junior Republic." It was a tremendous success.

Sleighton Farm is a State reformatory for girls, which has entirely revolutionized punishment by confinement by giving the girls a measure of self-government. It is the model for all reformatories in the U.S.A. The "honour" system is in vogue there. Barred windows to prevent running away are still retained, but the bars are kept as unobtrusive as possible and are not felt to be obnoxious.

At Lincoln Farm, above New York City, self-government has been carried further by Brother Barnabas. He conceived the idea of giving the most unruly boys entire liberty. Brother Barnabas combined the features both of father and mother. When the speaker visited the farm the boys greeted her with self-respect and courtesy and showed her round the place.

It has been said that these methods would not work with English children, that the American child is under less restraint than the English, and consequently has more resource and initiative.

The Horace Mann School—a model school for the whole U.S.A.—has a system of self-government. Judges are chosen to sit on cases of "discourtesy," *i.e.*, breaches of discipline or neglect of duty, and boys and girls have the duty of reporting cases of "discourtesy." This is done before the whole class. The child involved either makes a defence or confesses, and the incident closes.

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Many other experiments are being carried on now, where full freedom is allowed under the children's own management.

Our object is the development of the child's full personality. We must have more teachers and shorter hours.

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### THE DISCUSSION IN BRIEF.

#### PUNISHMENT

AGNES L. TIERNEY: I think certain kinds of punishment necessary. Corporal punishment has been entirely ruled out in the U.S.A. A usual form of punishment is keeping in after school. There are many original forms of punishment adopted in different schools, e.g., mowing the lawn. In schools where self-government is introduced punishment is administered by the children themselves, with the oversight necessary to see that the punishments are not too severe. In the George Junior Republic the regular penal system of the U.S.A., with a prison, is in force.

FRANK E. STEPHENS (KINGSTON, Co. DUBLIN): A child does not mind being talked to, but if you can question him and make him face his own acts he will writhe under it. Your aim must be to call into a child's consciousness what its act is, and what is the effect of it. Punishment calls in fear, and that is a paralysing influence in life. We want to let the spirit grow as well as the body.

EMMA THOMAS (LONDON): The danger in punishment is the appeal to fear; if there is no fear implied in our treatment, we need not call it punishment.

ELIZABETH HULL advocated the plan of assuming each girl came to the school (a reformatory) with a clean slate.

MABEL TOTHILL (BRISTOL) said that the neighbouring children were free to come into her house. At first they always took small articles, especially soap and matches. They were never punished. Now they come in more constantly and freely, and nothing is ever taken; they have come to have a different feeling towards society.

#### OBEDIENCE

AGNES L. N. TIERNEY: Obedience should be based on an understanding and agreement on the part of the child that the particular line of conduct required was the right one. There are times when absolute immediate obedience is necessary for the well-being and safety of the child, and if in ordinary cases the circumstances have been talked over with the child, the parent or teacher will have gained the child's entire confidence, and will receive obedience without question. The habit of obedience to parents trains the child to obey the inward mentor when it is felt.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE SCHOOL

MARY GOODHUE (BALTIMORE):

(1) In reformatories on the Pacific Coast we are getting the bars off as fast as we can.

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(2) Activities not having directly to do with classes or instruction are under self-government.

(3) Sometimes this is extended to co-operation in the preparation of lessons.

(4) Education being free in the U.S.A. there is a lack of appreciation of the opportunities offered.

(5) There has been an attempt in German schools to break down the "water-tight compartments" to make it possible to proceed from schools of one class to those of another.

A FRIEND (U.S.A.): There are a number of public schools making great experiments in the matter of the freedom of the pupils. At the William Penn High School, Philadelphia, the girls often carry on their lessons without a teacher, and there is no teacher present during the lunch period.

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## Our Responsibility to Influence Literature

*By Bertram Pickard (London)*

THE subject of my paper is the consideration of the responsibility of the members of the War and Social Order Committee and others in the Society specially interested in the new social message to influence literature. The field to be covered is a large one, and the paper can consequently be no more than suggestive.

The appeal made by literature may be either intellectual or emotional. The intellectual appeal is certainly important in these days of an increasingly educated people. It may be made by treatises of sufficient scope and seriousness to be used as a source of knowledge and equipment by leaders of thought, or by pamphlets whose matter deals with one portion of a large field, or presents in a simple form matter which has been fully developed in larger books. These are adapted for the serious-minded man-in-the-street.

The emotional appeal is of paramount importance. Of all forms of literature the novel is by far the most influential. The current thought of the nineteenth century was considerably swayed by the novels of Dickens, and in our own day H. G. Wells has had a less pronounced but similar effect.



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These are outstanding instances, but all novel-writers have in their degree affected popular opinion and the general attitude of mind of the country.

Another form of literature making chiefly an emotional appeal is poetry. In some periods its influence has been considerable, and there are now signs of re-awakening interest in this form of Art.

After the novel, the widest emotional appeal is made by the drama. Of late years there has been a revival in this form of literature on its more serious side, which cannot fail to have its influence.

Our influence may be exerted in two directions—that of *writing* and that of *reading*. We may write, or get others to write, and we may read or get others to read.

Any attempt to influence literature by producing contributions of one's own is, of course, entirely conditioned by the talent and time at one's disposal, but to those themselves unable to produce, the opportunity may come of exercising some influence upon Quaker or non-Quaker authors by conference or otherwise.

We all read, and with the present enormous output from the press the selection of books has become exceedingly difficult and needs a nice discrimination. Yet we all have the responsibility of making a judicious choice of books to be purchased, as we thereby affect the demand and consequently the production.

There are a number of ways in which we can influence the reading of others. The free distribution of pamphlets is a standard method of supplementing the spoken word; the willingness to lend our own books is a way in which service to the rest of the community may be rendered. An habitual use of our Meeting House Libraries and the Free Libraries of our towns has its influence, by the force of example, and personal recommendation to likely buyers has its effect in increasing the circulation of the right books.

By the establishment of the Central Literature Council and Bookshop, the Society of Friends has taken a step towards making books tending to the advancement of our principles more widely known and more readily obtained, and we may see the day when from this tentative beginning there may emerge a Quaker Publishing House.

# “TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER”

*Report of the*

“NEW TOWN” CONFERENCE

*held at Oxford, August 24-27, 1920*

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## The New Town Proposals

(1) *By Ralph H. Crowley, M.D. (Letchworth)*

**T**HE New Town proposals are the outcome of the searchings of heart to which the war gave rise. It has driven us to the centre of things. A new way of life must become a reality, whose expression must be through co-operation and association in the service of the community. An extended, and in many directions a fresh interpretation must be given to the principle of Mutual Aid, to the exposition of which as the fundamental law of life and progress we owe so much to Kropotkin. To some will fall the lot of giving expression to this principle in propositions and proposals which, operating over a wide area, would affect society generally. Our contribution is rather that of a group experiment, an endeavour to influence the general through the particular.

This thought of expressing the idea of co-operation in the service of the community through the building up of a new town arose first amongst a group resident in Letchworth Garden City. As a result of many meetings of the group a pamphlet was drawn up, entitled "A Proposal for the Establishment of a Co-operative Town, based primarily upon Agriculture." Subsequently the group widened out, the New Town Council was formed, and the original pamphlet, having passed through an intermediate stage, grew into our book "New Town: A Proposal in Agricultural, Industrial, Educational, Civic, and Social Reconstruction."

### *A GENERAL OUTLINE*

To enable me to give a general outline of New Town and of the proposals it embodies, I will ask you to imagine that I am conducting a visitor round the town in its early days. There will necessarily be many differences in New Town from what we may imagine we shall see, for New Town is a living proposition, and, like all true life, it will not grow to preconceived pattern. We cannot wish that it should.

The visitor would appreciate at the outset that New Town accepted the characteristic features inherent in the

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Garden City idea—the land owned and held in trust for the future inhabitants; the careful planning of the town, the most being made of various local features; the retention of an agricultural belt; throughout would be appreciated the endeavour to secure to the town dweller the advantages of the country, and to the rural worker the advantages of town life. A significant feature of the tour would be that the visitor found himself conducted first to the school as the centre of the life of the community; the centre of all the educational and many of the recreational activities, whether for the child, the young man and woman, or the adult. The school, simple in structure, would border on the park or large recreation ground, and while planned in such departments as might be appropriate would avoid the largely artificial distinctions represented at present by elementary, secondary, technical, continuation and other forms of schools. The work represented by these activities would be carried on, but the class rooms, special rooms for special subjects, workshops, laboratories, gymnasiums, bathroom, playground, school hall, library, museum, kitchen, dining-room, would be available as required for children of different ages. The visitor would further learn the educational use to which the workshops were put, and how the work of the school was linked up with that of the civic and social life of the town, the farm, and industry generally.

The planning of the centre of the town would then receive the visitor's attention, and he would note especially how the town planning had been influenced by the educational ideals. The character and position of buildings, such as the public hall, theatre, library, swimming bath, were determined largely by the educational arrangements. Considerations of economy had influenced the character of the buildings, and the use to which they were put. The central communal store and its branches would be a marked feature.

### *HOMES OF THE PEOPLE*

Passing on to the homes of the people the visitor would be struck by the way in which the houses had been grouped and the arrangements made to express the common requirements in communal form. He would see here a co-operative arrangement for cooking the principal meal, there laundry



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provision in common, the provision of a Nursery School, and of a common quiet room for reading and study. He would probably find some of the gardens smaller than he had expected, but he would note the adjacent provision of allotment ground, allowing of space to meet the requirements of different householders at different times. He would, perhaps, be especially interested in the provision made to meet the growing demand by men, and also by women freed from unnecessary housework, for activities to occupy the increased hours of leisure. Such occupations would be represented by forms of domestic industry, such as weaving, boot repairing, wood and metal work.

A tour of the farm shows our visitor that most of the agricultural belt is worked co-operatively as a large mixed farm. Fruit farming, dairy farming, and market gardening are special features. There are also small holdings for those who prefer working on more individual lines, and every facility is offered for co-operation both in buying and selling. The industries other than agriculture would show a variety both of workshops and factories. An investigation into their management would reveal considerable diversity in co-operative effort, from a maximum form of co-operation in the administration of the Building Guild to less fully-developed forms in which the interest on capital was limited, surplus was distributed in a variety of ways, and interesting examples of self-government in industry demonstrated.

I wish to lay emphasis upon the unity that we hope will underlie the enterprise. New Town will show a new relationship between industry, including agriculture, and education, and between these and the social life of the town. But to be a real success the participants in the enterprise will need to have and retain a steady vision of the new social order, based upon the service of the community. On the other hand, the vision will develop as it receives the opportunity for expression.

New Town is a gospel of hope,—hope backed by the history of man's development, physical and spiritual. We realize that the enterprise is full of difficulty, and in the three coming days of the Conference, those more closely responsible for the development of New Town will look to the members for their criticism and help, and, above all, for the inspiration of their fellowship.

## THE NEW TOWN PROPOSALS

(2) *By W. R. Hughes, M.A. (London)*

**M**OST of the social and economic advances of the past century can trace at least a part of their origin to the fertile brain and limitless enthusiasm of Robert Owen. Those that have been the most successful—such as the co-operative system as adopted by the Rochdale Pioneers—formed minor elements in Owen's social programme. The main design of himself and his followers (numbering at one time over eighty thousand paying members, drawn from all classes of the community) was the establishment of "communities." In these communities economic justice would reign, moral advance would be rapid, and their success would induce the whole of civilised society to follow suit.

Experiments in the making of such communities have been made in many countries since that time, sometimes with partial success, usually ending in disillusionment and disappointment. It is important for our movement to study and profit by the experience of "Utopian" Socialists.

The causes of their failure are not difficult to detect. Often they had not sufficient respect for the varying needs of human personalities and asked too much of the individual. There was too much common, too little private life in the group. Their scale was too small, their programme too limited to give the necessary variety and freedom for differing individuals. Their promoters did not realise the unity and the complexity of the social life in which we are all bound up together, nor how much was yet to be learnt of the arts of social life and self-government.

There followed the swing of thought away from communal experiments of this nature to the "scientific" conception of State Socialism. To-day we have a counter-movement away from the idea of the supreme State, and emphasising local and regional development as well as functional organisation.

Meanwhile, since the days of Robert Owen, there has been a great accumulation of experience on many lines of

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co-operative endeavour—in making and distributing goods, in education, and in self-government in the trade society and in the city. All these movements are now urgently pressing forward to further advances, but need to be unified and co-ordinated in the power of the spirit of brotherhood and the service of man.

The New Town movement believes that it is necessary, and possible, for a body of people to come together, in the spirit of Owen's movement but with the benefit of all the subsequent experience and with no hopes of an immediate Utopia, in order to work out on a moderate scale an attempt to integrate in a social community all the separate movements to which we have referred.

It is not our purpose to separate ourselves from the national life in a group apart, but we want to make a fresh start in a fresh place with all these things at the same time, and to that extent our project may be described as new. If successful, it is certain that the scheme will have a marked influence on national development.

Though our more inclusive aim was not adopted by the founders of Letchworth, we can profit by the experience there gained. Letchworth started a new town in a new place. Land was held for the community; any increased value was to go to the whole community, not to private owners. Letchworth was also a powerful experiment in town-planning, and within ten years its influence was felt in the laying out of towns all over the country.

### *THE NEW TOWN PROPOSALS.*

A New Town Council of fifty men and women was formed, who put their ideas and plans together, and gradually the various proposals settled down into a coherent scheme, that expressed the general intention of all the Council. We hope that practical developments will be carried on by similar methods with a similar result. Unless we can get genuine group action—common action—we shall be in trouble.

Miss Follett, in "The New State," writes: "Who, then, are free? Those who win their freedom through fellowship. . . . The love of our fellow men to be effective must be the love involved from some actual group relation. We talk of fellowship; we think that all we have to do is to *decide* on fellowship as a delightful idea. But fellowship will be the slowest thing on earth to create."

We have adopted the principles that have already proved successful at Letchworth. Land required shall be held for the future community, and any increased value shall be for the benefit of the community. We wish to exercise forethought in laying out the town. We must see that we give the right educational conditions; we must keep the town moderate in size, so that those living in it shall have easy access to the country, and those in the countryside can readily come into the town.

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### *THE PRESENT POSITION.*

The Council has formed a Registered Trust, "The Pioneer Trust," to collect sufficient capital to buy a site, and, when the site is acquired, to form a permanent Company to develop it. The directors of this parent Company will be gradually replaced by residents and control will gradually pass into the hands of the citizens.

Growth will not take place in a day. The ordinary difficulties of raising money are increased to-day, and it is no light task. The rate of development will depend on the amount of capital available, building conditions, and the rate of entry of industry into the town. Up to now, the Trust has raised £29,000. It is non-commercial. Some of the money has been subscribed as loan-stock free of interest, some in the form of shares, and some as loan-stock bearing 4 per cent. interest. It may be a business of years to get the scheme going; it may start to-morrow.

We are living in the age of revolution; we wish to help to guide it rightly and take our full share in it. Here is the chance to put our principles into practice in our whole life, and not only in our spare time.

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## Agriculture in New Town

*By H. Valentine Davis B.Sc. (Wistaston)*

**I**T would be possible to establish New Town ignoring the industry of agriculture, as is being done by the promoters of most of the garden suburbs that are being built or planned. Simultaneously with this blindness to a primal industry on the part of the promoters of Town-planning schemes, there is being formed in this country a gigantic Milk Trust which is apparently trying to get the milk industry into its tentacles, possibly for greater efficiency in service and for the supply of clean, wholesome milk; possibly for the profit of the shareholders, or for the "big business" men in the Trust. But in establishing our New Town we shall soon discover that we need food as well as houses, and so, even if we begin by ignoring agriculture, we shall very soon be brought up against the problems connected with food-supplying and food-producing industries, and shall be led to ask whether those industries are run on "New Town" lines.



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It is not so much the building of a new *town* with which we are concerned as the setting of human life and industry in a new atmosphere. We need a new countryside as well as a new town. We hope to demonstrate that towns can flourish in close association with rural industries and that rural life can usefully be brought into closer association with town life.

I look forward to a time when the principles to be exemplified in New Towns should be concerned not only with housing, trading, education, and with the provision of some of the food of the localised communities, but should also be applied to the provision of *all* the food, clothing, books, machinery, and in fact with *all* the material needs of man, so that finally "New Town" becomes "New World" and embraces industry in Canada, Ceylon, China and Peru.

Returning to the immediate problem, it is very desirable for New Town to include agriculture in its industries. In what ways do we propose anything that is *new*? Realising that the *average* of British farming is below what is possible, and that most of it is carried on for private profit (with some interesting exceptions), we seek to *carry on the agricultural industry at its highest possible efficiency for the benefit of the community, including the workers*. In farms carried on by some co-operative societies, the workers labour under conditions very little different from those prevailing in the ordinary private profit-making farms. What we seek in New Town farming is that the workers shall not only be efficient, but have some share in the direction of the work, knowing that surpluses shall be for the common good, and that the efficient conduct of the industry shall lead to a higher standard of life.

### ORGANISATION

Coming to details of organisation, we propose the formation of "The Agricultural Guild (New Town), Ltd.," in which the workers, while being members of their own trade unions or professional organisations, could also combine to form a guild. The guild would be registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1913, and should be composed of all the workers in the industry. The workers could be arranged in such groups as (1) arable, (2) live-stock and (3) dairy workers, (4) fruit growers and

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preservers, (5) market gardeners, and (6) technical experts and administrators. If each group elected two representatives these twelve workers would form the Board of Directors of the Guild. (Each director would deposit with his electorate a signed statement that he could be replaced at any time by a two-thirds majority.)

This Agricultural Guild would hold all the farming land of New Town under lease from the New Town Company. It would also hold all the initial farm equipment and stock, and would lease working capital from the New Town Company. The mode of expenditure of this capital (which might be, say, £10,000) would be on lines agreed upon by the New Town Company and the Guild acting in harmony.

The Guild would be concerned with the efficient running of the farming industry, and would pay wages possibly above the standard set by the Wages Board. 'Surplus earnings of the enterprise could be devoted to the improvement of the service and not as dividends. (The fixed rent charges paid to the New Town Company for land, stock, and capital would not rank as dividends.) "Improvement of service" will include provision of additional buildings and equipment, research, technical training for workers, and the elimination of the original capital. All land, buildings and stock will remain the property of the New Town Company.

In the early days of the enterprise the New Town Company will have to be responsible for the farming industry and for the appointment of the first administrators and workers, but the Guild should be formed as soon as practicable.

### *THE FARM OF THE FUTURE*

Let us picture to ourselves how farm lands would appear after some few years of work on them. The farm would be picturesque, clean, tidy, efficient; the workers happy, contented, educated, with leisure to cultivate their hobbies. There would be good wholesome produce for the town, produced under hygienic conditions by efficient workers.

The farm lands, and the whole farming industry, would be closely linked with the educational system of New Town, so that instead of pupils, as at present, having to rely upon

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the courtesy of individual farmers for some insight into the industry, the farm would become, in a sense, a large open-air class-room of the school.

*Ques.—What would happen if the Farm Guild made a loss?*

*Ans.—*I can assure you that there won't be losses. The farmer's cycle is five or six years, and he has to take long views. He can show a profit or loss in any one year, according to the presentation of the figures, but over the whole cycle there would not be any loss. An accurate system of costing will be adopted, and the New Town Company will be ready to finance two or three years' losses if these occur during the cycle.

*Ques.—Are you prepared to rigidly cut down outlay at the commencement, or are you going to put up model buildings which might not be by any means the cheapest?*

*Ans.—*My advice would be to wait till you can afford it; some times, however, it is cheaper to erect better buildings at once.

*Ques.—Would the children be paid for the work they did on the farm during their school hours?*

*Ans.—*No. The children would not work on the farm for wages; they would take part in farming not as a task, but as something interesting.

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## Industry in New Town

*By Harrison Barrow (Birmingham)*

**I**N the first place we wish to find out as clearly as possible what we really want, and to do that perhaps the simplest way is to see what are our objections to the best form of enterprises as run under the existing capitalistic system. What then are our objections to the highly-organised industries we see being run by far-sighted owners, with short hours, good wages, holidays, education, pensions, sickness benefit and medical supervision?

The first objection is that power remains in the hands of the few, and that this economic power means also immense political power, all of which is exercised at the whim of a few individuals. There is also the tendency to servility on the part of the employees, a natural desire to curry favour with those who are able to advance them to better positions.

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The Whitley Councils may do something to promote a more democratic atmosphere, but at present they deal with little more than the conditions of work and wages.

Another very grave danger in these days of great trusts is the tendency of what one might call a combination of employees and employers against the community, so that though the industry itself flourishes it is able to charge the consumer far more than it should for the commodity provided or the services rendered.

### *NEW CONDITIONS*

What can New Town do? It starts unhampered by existing conditions in the district, it will have a definite aim and object, and all the community will have the same, more or less.

In regard to distributive trades the proposition is comparatively simple; it is proposed that all the ordinary shop-keeping should belong to and be arranged by the town itself or by directors of the Company, perhaps by a combination of both. These will include groceries, draperies, bread (it will probably run its own bakery), laundries, and all the ordinary things sold in a large store (how far luxuries should be sold has not been decided). Of course, gas, water, electricity, etc., would be under the same ownership and management. There must be no protection; everything from the outside must be allowed to come in. There may be a tendency to sell town-made articles and keep out things outside, but it will be possible for these to come in by post and rail if this is overdone. I hope it will not be. The town must stand on free trade or it will certainly go under.

All this seems obvious and comparatively simple; what is much more complicated, and in a way much more important, is how are industries to be owned and managed and how are they to be encouraged. I personally think that in the first instance agriculture will be, and should be, the main industry, but that will be insufficient.

Obviously, to say that all the industries must be under the control of one board of directors would tend to over-centralisation, inefficiency, and lack of enterprise. Therefore industries will be allowed to be started by anyone, subject to certain conditions, as follows:—



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1. A limited rate of interest.

2. All surplus profits to be divided among (a) the town, (b) the operatives, (c) reduction in price to the consumer, (d) education, (e) sinking fund.

The parent company will have the right to appoint one-third of the directors and to inspect the books of the Company. Some of these may be approved companies, which practise certain definite schemes of management approved by the parent company.

Others may not do this, and may possibly be run somewhat on the lines of an ordinary capitalised company with the exceptions named above, and also that in every company there must be some scheme of democratic management.

### *IS IT POSSIBLE ?*

Will anyone come in under those terms? Will all companies consider that they must have all they can make? Shall we prevent all really good business men coming, or shall we only get irresponsible idealists?

Now we must have efficiency and we must have production. We are told that the ordinary method of "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is the only way of securing efficiency. That it is only the incentive of the higher wage, high salary, or large profits which will produce efficiency. If this be true then New Town will be a failure. Is it true? I do not think it is. We know in the war that men went to face death for very small sums; true there was a glamour about it, which it is difficult to introduce into industry, but I am convinced that with a greater feeling of co-operation something may be done. The whole idea at present is a compromise. Wages will not be a flat rate. Certain parts of the surplus will be divided among foremen and workmen. I wish that in some more sentimental way we might reward some with a wreath of laurel, as in a race or game.

### *DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT*

One thing I do picture, and that is monthly or quarterly meetings of the various industries, where all will attend, and at which reports of the results will be given—output, prices, and surpluses. These meetings should be an im-

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mense stimulus and incentive to good work and efficiency.

The distribution of part of the surplus among the workers brings in the danger of the holding up of the community by one of the industries. To avoid this an extra bonus might be paid if prices are reduced on the lines of the London gas companies, under whose scheme, as gas is reduced in price dividends are increased. The first step is getting rid of the fact of surplus going to the owners of capital.

The introduction of democratic management is not an easy problem. Is a committee of men capable of choosing efficient managers? If it does that, can it do any more?

The solution of this problem is that men and women must be trained to organise. Education plays a vital part.

We want criticism on these proposals; we want idealism and at the same time want our feet on the ground. The capitalist system is coming to an end; it cannot pay what wages it likes or compel men to work what hours it pleases; its power of arbitrary dismissal has been taken away. Men are said to be indolent and "cheeky." A new system and a new spirit are necessary. Can we begin to show it in New Town in industry as Denmark has done in agriculture? We want the idealist and the man of business, and if it cannot be done in New Town it cannot be done elsewhere.

*Ques.—Would there be any supply of power for individual craftsmen?*

*Ans.—*New Town is particularly capable of developing craftsmen's industry. Small electro motive power should be provided when required.

*Ques.—Would the people of New Town allow Trades Unions to control the workers, with the possibility that the workers would only do, say, one quarter of the work they could do?*

*Ans.—*No. The whole object of the co-operative movement is that everybody should do their best.

*Ques.—If the productions of New Town industries were sold in the town at less than the market price, could outsiders buy?*

*Ans.—*The case would not arise; products would be sold at the current market price.

## New Town as an Enterprise in Education

(1) *By W. R. Hughes, M.A. (London)*

UNLESS the New Town movement builds carefully upon all the past experience and thought of the human race, it cannot fulfil its object of becoming a spear-head for social advance in these stirring times, and will remain a brain-spun paper scheme.

We try to learn from all sources. There is much to be gained from a fresh reading of Plato's "Republic" (one of the most modern of books) in the light of the New Town proposals; and we may gain valuable knowledge by studying the work of the Bolsheviki and other social revolutionaries on the Continent to-day.

We seek to integrate into one social endeavour the results of the attempts to develop the richness of human fellowship which have proceeded by various means, accompanied by an ever more complex differentiation of function. There will be little that is new, therefore, in a description of the advance to be attempted in New Town in any one department of social life. What is new is the way in which we propose to combine all these forms of advance, in a mutually strengthening alliance, by means of the principle of a new start in a new place.

### *FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP*

In the first sentence of the New Town book the words "freedom" and "fellowship" are found side by side. These two ideals have ever been the mightiest to lead mankind forward. They are inseparable and complementary. Miss Follett's book, "The New State," is, as Professor MacKenzie points out, a most valuable discussion, from an American point of view, of the problems of democratic life and organisation which "New Town" attacks from the

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practical side. In her book I read, "Who then are free? Those who win their freedom through fellowship." It is true. We cannot attain freedom save in and through fellowship. And we cannot attain fellowship save among men, and groups of men, who are free.

In New Town we do not picture an achieved perfection. We seek to give the right conditions for a free start in an experiment in fellowship, and we expect the inhabitants of New Town, and not its promoters, to build it and determine its form as it grows.

The whole enterprise is educational just because it is to be dynamic and progressive, and education in New Town must be guided by the twin ideals of freedom and fellowship.

It follows necessarily that, as Dr. Crowley has already pointed out, "the school"—the place where the New Town citizens of all ages come together in this common search for freedom and fellowship—must be the living centre of the town.

We are all half-educated and crookedly educated, and the adults of New Town will need much mutual help to make them good citizens and fit for the new ways of a more co-operative life together. I must leave this side to Arnold Freeman and confine myself to questions connected with the education of the young.

### *PRESENT CONDITIONS*

Returning to the thought that we must fit in with and grow out of existing conditions, and express aspirations and ideals that are ripe already for expression among our people let us examine briefly, first of all, the present condition of educational administration in England. For we wish to be within the national system and to influence its development.

We find a most interesting and hopeful situation. Every county and large town is now engaged in drawing up its own scheme of education under the great Education Act of 1918. These local schemes must make provision for extending the time of compulsory education, for unifying the educational system of each locality, and further, must outline a programme of advance for ten years ahead. All those who are concerned about English education should



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be taking part in the framing of their local schemes. There is a clause in the Act which obliges each authority to take steps to consult public opinion freely before passing its scheme. In my own district we have formed a council of delegates from over a hundred democratic organisations, in order to help produce a worthy scheme, and have had many lively parents' meetings to discuss what the scheme should include. In this way a closer hold over educational affairs is being promoted among those whose children are being educated in the community school.

It will be important for New Town to study closely the education scheme of the county in which it is placed, to get into sympathetic touch with the county director of education, and to help to exemplify in the New Town school the more progressive suggestions included in the year's programme.

One considerable limitation introduced by the association of the New Town school with the county system will be that the head and other teachers will be appointed by the local authority and not by the people of New Town directly. This is, however, probably not a very serious matter, as local opinion, expressed through the school managers and otherwise, will have much weight, and the general influence of the New Town atmosphere will, we hope, influence the school teachers even more than others, and give them support and inspiration in their work. In my own experience I have seen a case in which one woman, from the outside of a school, has by her personal influence transformed its whole work and atmosphere.

### *A MECHANICAL SYSTEM*

In planning the New Town school we aim at replacing the present type of big town school by something far more free and attractive. The present overgrown city school—like the overgrown city itself—depresses all who are associated with it and sweeps them along in the train of its rigid mechanical system. I cannot give a better idea of the general impression of rigidity and lack of freedom that our elementary school system leaves upon some minds than by quoting the following verses, making some allowance for the possible slight exaggeration in their form :

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### RECTANGULAR EDUCATION.\*

How long, how long will the British nation,  
Bow down to Rectangular Education?  
This hoary idol, firm as rock,  
Stands yet four-square to shock on shock,  
An ancient, sinister stumbling block,  
That we must overthrow to-day,  
To set the children free,  
Or—pack our millstones right away,  
And hurry down to the sea.

If here is fun, 'tis mirthless fun,  
Nay, tragedy, ever afresh begun,  
And this is the way the thing is done.

First choose from your county or your city  
A respectable Education Committee,  
(Polished domes in double row !)

Formal and slow,  
And fashioned so

By the same idol-worship long ago.  
Straight, square men, with minds direct,  
That will not move

Save in a groove,  
Or just as precedent may expect.  
And dropping from the lips of each  
Comes the refrain to every speech—

“ Mr. Chairman, I represent

The ratepayers' interest, and here I'm sent  
To see that the money is properly spent.”

(For money is real, but imagination—

What's that to do with education?)

They know their duty to town and state,  
To keep the children (and teachers) straight  
And on right lines to educate.

“ See,” they say, “ the schools we've built,”  
(Three-storied monuments of guilt;

Plumb-line divine, and sacred square,  
Have had full meed of worship there.)

“ Solid money's worth—there you are,  
All regular, and rectangular ! ”

\* These verses are printed complete in response to requests made at the Conference.

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In schools and prisons you will meet  
Everything well-arranged and neat,  
All calculable and complete.  
And cruel things are done as well,  
In the class-room as in the cell.  
Outside, with walls like a prison barred,  
Frowns a narrow rectangular yard,  
A square of dismal playground showing  
Nothing living, or curved or growing;  
In black corners, which Beauty shuns,  
England cages her little ones.  
But stay—once a member on progress bent,  
Carried a motion—(by accident,  
For sure that day the Board was enchanted !)  
To have trees in a playground planted.  
And so they were planted—fifteen trees  
In accurate parallel, fives and threes !  
Behold each perpendicular stem,  
Of the same height, and crowning them  
Five straight fingers paw the air,  
Lopped to be level everywhere.  
From pollarded official trees  
Smut-choked and dumb,  
That hardly feel the sun and breeze,  
No low and loving whispers to the poor children come.  
Enter now the school with me  
And see  
Corridor, class-room, desk, and book,  
How nobody ever this rule forsook,  
The rule admitting of no debate  
And followed everywhere,  
“ That every line must be perfectly straight  
And every corner square.”  
Straight lines for window, blackboard, door,  
Straight lines ruled upon the floor,  
Square time-table upon the wall,  
With lines across, and vertical;  
Desks in straight rows, and seats as well,  
All proper and all parallel.  
To write—lined copy-book supplied,  
And “ Rule a straight line down the left-hand side.”

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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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To draw—an object many sided,  
Squared paper, and straight edge provided.

Yet once I saw  
Something that broke the rectilinear law,  
A chestnut leaf pinned to a board  
That once on a tree had praised the Lord,  
Hanging faded as if in grief;  
Alas, poor little chestnut leaf,  
Was this thy cause of gloom,  
To be the only curved thing in the room?

But how can we fit the children in  
To this frame rectangularly planned?  
Why, call in "order" and "discipline"  
And "prompt obedience to word of command."  
Stand them up straight and turn out their toes,  
Drill them in lines, and teach them in rows,  
As though to make each little biped,  
A perfect parallelopiped!

The teacher then, to his despair,  
Finds his own mind becoming square,  
When sixty boys, on a sweltering day,  
Drive him along the formal way,  
Till fades the vision and the dream,  
And all the breaks the rectilinear scheme.

And still the Committee sits in state,  
To keep the children (and teachers) straight,  
And on right lines to educate!

Oh fools! fools! fools!

Look at the children, free of your rules,  
Leaping and dancing out of your schools.  
And as the living river whirls,  
In eddies of shouting boys and girls,  
See how each happy little one  
Must in a curve or circle run,  
And how those little feet  
Weave their own patterns down the rigid street.

Oh fools! fools! fools!

Did no one tell you, in all your schools,  
That straight lines and square bricks  
Are man's poor tricks;



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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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That everything which lives and grows,  
Carries the sign wherever it goes,  
God's mark and sign,  
The curving line,  
The path by which His glory flows?  
Did all the glory your eyes escape?  
Grace of the young body's shape,  
Round of arm, and head and hip,  
Curve of cheek, and bow of lip,  
Through all the body the sign, the sign,  
Not a straight line! not a straight line!

Let them go with dance and song  
Away to the place where they belong,  
Out of the clever, smoky towns,  
In a great day set free,  
Out on the wise and windy downs  
That are in sight of the sea.  
There let them stand with eyes that shine  
To view at last the world divine  
That bears the same authentic sign,  
Not a straight line! not a straight line!  
Curve of leaf, and curve of tree,  
Bounding curve of earth and sea,  
Blade of grass, with wavy line,  
Spire of hop and eglantine,  
Circles drawn on butterflies' wings,  
Curves of little furry things,  
The globe that is the mouse's home,  
And the beetle's sheeny dome,  
Winds that round every corner curl,  
And sing to the singing boy and girl,  
Water arching on the sand—  
Not a straight line on sea or land!  
And in the heaven over one,  
Hangs the bright circle of the sun.

All things cry aloud the Name,  
That is the same  
In curve of flower or curve of flame,  
Curve of childhood's holy frame,  
Curve of the enquiring mind,  
Spiral of climbing human kind,

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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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Circles of man's soaring spirit,  
That seeks to mount,  
Up to its primal fount,  
And Paradise again inherit.

And these young spirits you would bind  
By the walls and rules  
Of rectangular schools,  
Till patterned to the measure of your mind?  
Thank God they cannot wholly be confined.  
But yet, for all that you can do,  
They will break through, break through,  
And since they come from Him and are His own  
Still must be circling upward towards the Throne.

The fact that a strong movement is now at work, which aims at removing children from the environment of classroom, and of city conditions into the open air, is in itself a criticism both of our schools and of our towns.

Within this unsatisfactory system, both of town and of country elementary schools, many teachers are waging the bravest struggle to express better methods and ideas. But great numbers of teachers are forced to give up such struggle after a time, and the waste which follows their depression into line with the system and the conditions is incalculable.

### *A NEW INFLUENCE*

Just as our school will not start with a free field in matters of administration, but must work inside the national and local system, so also when we come to the questions of what is to be taught, and how, we must look around and consider how we shall fit into our place in relation to the educational movement of to-day.

There is a great stirring here, and many movements—re-discovering or re-emphasising old truths—most of which seem closely allied to our twin ideals of education for freedom in fellowship and education for fellowship in freedom. We must refer to the chapter on Education in the *New Town* book for detailed suggestions as to the newer methods proposed for group work and individual effort in the school. They are, we believe, some of the natural means of expressing the two ideals.

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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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- (1) *Freedom*.—This, of course, means, not licence or “letting the children do just as they like” (the still popular misconception of the Montessori method), but orderly self-direction. It involves the giving of choice among many forms of active, purposeful, joyous work. The choice is made within the limits of a suitable environment. This environment naturally widens as the child grows, till finally it becomes the whole world.

In this conception of freedom is involved the idea of the “free discipline” arising from the successful appeal to active, interested effort of individual or of group, as contrasted with the mechanical and repressive discipline of mere external authority.

- (2) *Fellowship*.—Since man is a social being, the idea of self-direction naturally involves that of social self-direction, or democracy. Democracy is the achievement of freedom in fellowship—of fellowship in freedom. Our fellows—parents, teachers, class-mates—are part of our educational environment. Education in manners and in morals is found to proceed side by side with the more strictly personal development when the right work occupies the attention of a school of children. Training in citizenship begins in the infant school, and in New Town will grow and widen all the way through.

Experimental schools in England and in America are showing, in many places, what may be done by such methods of free and active education. The few children benefit. In New Town we shall seek to include all the young life of the town within the scope of such opportunities. For it is hoped that the common school will be so inspiring and attractive that few, if any, of the parents in the town will wish to send their children to private schools.

We aim, further, at associating together all the educational forces of the town. The boundaries between home—work—school—play—amusement will tend to become most indeterminate. Others have indicated how improvements in home life and opportunities will react on school; and how, when evil industrial motives and conditions have largely disappeared, workshop and farm will become almost

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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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a part of the school premises. The town will overflow into the school, and the school will overflow into the town. So there will be a constant widening and intermingling of circles of knowledge and of loyalty, binding the citizens together in new ways. We shall expect to find a natural way of transferring that intense loyalty which an old "public school boy" usually feels for his school, to wider and more inclusive social unities, in a way which our class and economic divisions make almost impossible to-day.

### *THE IMPORTANCE OF PERSONALITY*

In all our planning we must not lose sight of the fundamental importance of the personality of the teacher. The method is important, but the man or woman behind is far more important. The success, and the particular form, of New Town education will depend largely on the ability to discover the right leaders. In the ranks of the "teachers" we shall hope to include parents and citizens who will find themselves drawn into the wider sweep of the education of the town. This width of interests in the general "school" life of the town will have another incidental effect in making more possible than elsewhere a real fitting of boys and girls into their right place and work in the community as they grow towards maturity.

The men and women we meet may be roughly divided into two classes—those who believe in the practicability of an appeal to the higher motives of man as a basis for daily work and life, and those who do not. We New Town folk range ourselves definitely in the first class. We "believe in human nature." The same distinction shows itself in the world of educational ideal and effort. We believe it possible to educate for co-operation and not for competition, as is still too much the rule to-day.

Where direct appeal is made by a loving teacher to the principles of freedom and fellowship in the school, the results are proving an illumination and a revelation to those who see them. Let us remember Edmond Holmes, converted in this way by what he saw in one country school, after a life spent in inspecting teachers and taught. Let us remember Madame Montessori standing in wonder before her children and scarcely daring to believe the reports her



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teachers were bringing to her of what these children were revealing of joy and beauty in their work and life. "Who then are these?" she asks. "Are they the children who were in the arms of Christ?"

We place the child in the midst and ask again, Who, indeed, can this be? This little one with the wide and innocent eyes that search us through, who reaches out a hand to touch us in pure affection, a hand stretched out to take ours that we may enter together into the Kingdom of Heaven. In this child lies gathered together all the history of the past ages, all the powers and possibilities of a thousand ancestors; in him lies hidden all the promise of the future; his thought begins to reach out and to grasp all space and time; he stands before us, ready to create, ready to love; it is ours to help him to know who he is and what his task; he is the builder of New Town and of the future.

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### NEW TOWN AS AN ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION

(2) *By Arnold Freeman, M.A., B.Lit., F.R.Hist.S.,  
Warden of the Sheffield Y.M.C.A. Settlement*

**I**N dealing with the subject of education I want to bring before you at the very commencement the essential oneness of education and religion. These two are fundamentally the same thing. To be truly educative our schools should be full of the religious spirit and the only effectual religionist is one who is cultured. Religion ought to use the best educational methods, and in schools we know we have got to appeal to spiritual instincts.

The success of New Town depends upon what sort of people the original inhabitants are going to be. The town may fail to achieve its objects either through being too idealistic, or through being merely another garden city.

Let us assume that we have to deal with a large number of ordinary people. In that case it is superlatively important to adopt proper methods of adult education, other-

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wise the whole New Town scheme will fail. For it is astonishing how few people know anything whatever about government.\* The ignorance of voters, even in New Town, is sure to be profound. A good scheme of adult education is therefore essential to success. We must have a Director of Adult Education and a central institution in the town comprising municipal buildings, gardens, a public café and concert hall, a museum, a place for social research, and a "Temple of the People," *i.e.*, a spiritual centre.

Then I should like New Town every week to celebrate some great idea, *e.g.*, on May 1st the idea of Labour, associated with Karl Marx, perhaps; on the date of the receipt by Darwin of the letter from Wallace, telling of his having arrived independently at Darwin's conclusions, the idea of Evolution might be celebrated. On the other dates, Art, and Michael Angelo; Leadership, and Abraham Lincoln. Every Sunday evening, or some other day of the week, there might be a scenic representation of the same idea. This and similar experiments would go far towards giving the people of New Town that common adult educative body of ideas without which effective corporate action will not be possible.

Those in charge should keep some control over public-houses, cinemas, and newspapers. We want the public-house made a "People's House"—obscure the drink, and provide music, books, etc., so as to make it an instrument of adult education. The cinema exercises a great influence, probably greater than the Press. Why should it not be possible for the Minister of Education to have a code of educational films made? We could work out the idea in New Town. As to newspapers, New Town might publish its own, so that the best thinkers may be certain of the publication of their letters.

New Town is a heroic enterprise. We are attempting something tremendous. It is idealistic, and that is why it is difficult to get the necessary money. We are all soaked in materialism, and have not realised the truth of the words of Christ, "The Kingdom of God is within you." Christ taught men to believe in themselves: "The works that I

\* See *The Equipment of the Worker*, by the Sheffield Y.M.C.A. Settlement Research Committee.

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do shall ye do also, and greater works than these shall ye do." We must either be content with another Garden City, a tame enterprise not much affecting the world about it, or we must face the adventure in the Spirit of Jesus and aim at building a City of God.

*Ques.—Mr. Hughes has said that the town-planning would centre round the school; will he elaborate this?*

*Ans.—*What I meant was that when you are planning you think what the things are that people want in common. If you make the school the centre for all education and much of the recreation, all must be considered in relation to the school.

*Ques.—Is there not a financial difficulty in erecting massive school buildings?*

*Ans.—*Of course, we are absolutely conditioned by finance, and must economise. *To start with* we should have to build with the cheapest materials only. At present, brick easily holds the field as the cheapest, but we are anxious to get away from the present type of buildings and adopt more of a fresh-air plan.

*Ques.—Has the hygienic difficulty been considered of keeping schoolrooms clean and airy? When rooms are used continuously the atmosphere is not fit to breathe.*

*Ans.—*That is because the rooms are not suitable for continuous use; the rooms in the New Town schools will be differently planned. We may also remember that the town will not be dirty. It is not past the wit of man to use a room morning, afternoon and evening, and yet keep it fresh.

*Ques.—Are you going to be independent of the Education Authority?*

*Ans.—*We are going to be absolutely within the English education system. There has been a great change in the Educational world in the last five or ten years; there is now a tendency in favour of doing things differently, and Mr. Fisher has often said he wants to see educational experiments. If we don't ask more per head from the education authorities than other schools, they will not make much objection.

*Ques.—Would the County education scheme be taken into account in choosing a site for New Town?*

*Ans.—*Yes; if two or three otherwise suitable sites were available; but there is not so much difference between the education systems in different counties as to make us refuse a site on the ground that the scheme of education was not so good as in other counties.

*Ques.—Is it proposed that New Town should appoint its own director of elementary education?*

*Ans.—*I take it for granted that there will be an Educational Council, which will include the Workers' Educational Association and other similar bodies. This Council may take the place of a director at first.

*Ques.—Are you going to teach the whole school to understand*



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and appreciate music, and is adult musical education also to be provided for?

*Ans.*— Yes! certainly.

*Ques.*— *Will there be any attempt made to preserve the unity of classes?*

*Ans.*— We have no intention of dictating to parents, but we do intend to make the school common to all classes, and so attractive that all would wish to send their children there.

*Ques.*— *Is there to be any exclusion of the private school?*

*Ans.*— This has not been considered, but I see no reason why experiments by individual educational enthusiasts should be prevented.

*Ques.*— *What would be done in the way of after-school education?*

*Ans.*— The length of time at school would be up to the age of sixteen. We are also planning a much more extended system of adult education, so that there will be all sorts of opportunities and interests in other organisations. Technical education will have to develop according to the industries established in the town. Agricultural education would be undertaken after leaving school.

In answer to enquiries, the following books bearing on Arnold Freeman's address were mentioned :—

“The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction,” by Freeman and Hayward.

“Education through Settlements,” by Arnold Freeman.

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## Homes and Town Planning in New Town

*By T. Alwyn Lloyd, F.R.I.B.A. (Cardiff)*

I AM an architect who is trying to get houses built. I find the difficulties so great that I am inclined to give the project up. New Town is going to do away with some of these difficulties. At present local authorities all over the country are adding houses to existing towns. The New Town policy is the exact opposite of this, and also differs in many other ways from all other housing experiments. We are not proposing a garden village or suburb, but an experiment which aims at decentralizing industry, etc., on entirely new lines, in a self-contained Garden City.

A magnificent opportunity presents itself for boldness of treatment and *vision* in planning. We shall not be hampered



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## *Towards a New Social Order*

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with a town already in existence ; we shall start *de novo*. For these reasons a great deal is expected of us.

We must take full advantage of what has been done elsewhere in town planning and civic development. Letchworth, our first and only garden city, because of its pioneer nature, has had to develop in rather piecemeal fashion. We must not succumb to the temptation of "plot letting," and when a prospective tenant comes along we must place him in proper relation to the whole scheme. We shall need all our faith and all our energy to withstand the temptation to "get something done," at the cost of acquiescence in the whims of individuals.

Powers as to the town-planning of houses are given by the Town Planning Acts of 1909-19. Schemes can be initiated either by the Local Authority or the owners. The New Town Company will have the powers conferred on owners, and will have to adopt the "owners'" section of that Act, and at the same time enter into close co-operation with the Local Authorities—County and Rural District. Hampstead got a private Act of Parliament, which enabled them to lay out their estate on very revolutionary lines, but made the mistake of entirely ignoring the Local Authority. So, even at the risk of endless trouble, we must take the Local Authority into our confidence and gain their co-operation.

### *THE GENERAL SCHEME*

The town plan will form part of the general planning of the whole region, particularly with regard to arterial roads, but as the site is not yet selected one can only give a general indication of lines on which development might proceed. First of all, we shall not try to concentrate all the services of the communal life too exclusively at the centre. My hope is that we shall have several subsidiary centres, and group our small holdings and cottages in hamlets, which would have their own stores and social life. We want to retain natural features as far as possible, and have plenty of open spaces. We want open park lands and pleasancess, wayside greens and commons, not railed-in town parks and enclosures which look like cemeteries. At the same time there will be splendid opportunity to establish a civic centre, where the larger public buildings, schools, church, and con-

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cert hall, planned with dignity and architectural charm, would be grouped. If our estate possesses an old mansion and park lands, that would probably be a good nucleus. We must proceed gradually and build our communal places as we want them, not waste our substance in the early years by building an elaborate town hall and places of worship or instruction.

As regards homes in New Town, my idea is that there should be one directing technical mind controlling individual designs in keeping with the unity of the whole scheme, but that subject to this groups of architects and craftsmen should work in co-operation, planning and building groups of buildings. I think the town-planning of New Town can be done democratically; it is remarkable how usefully non-technical people can enter into house-planning. As regards internal arrangements, a few large rooms will be better than many small ones. The kitchen and scullery, which are the working part of the house, will need much attention paid to the devising of labour-saving appliances. We must endeavour to get women to take a leading part in the planning. In the other rooms, however, may I express the hope that we shall aim at creating homes—not hospitals. Rounded corners and flat surfaces and glazed tiling are all very well in their way, but they are costly, and in my opinion should not usurp the place of the more important matters.

New Town affords a fine opportunity for building guilds and the revival of craftsmanship. Local materials and methods of building should be used—stone where its use is traditional, hand-made tiles and so on. We want the builder to feel that he is part of the town, and live there and do all the building in the district.

## Homes, and Women's Part in New Town

*By Mary O'Brien Harris, D.Sc. (London)*

**E**XPERIENCE of previous discussions warns me to preface my remarks by reading from the chapter on The Homes and Social Life of New Town the following extracts, in the spirit of which anything that appears too dogmatic in them must be interpreted :—

"Differences in taste also exist, whereby one person wants but little room, his ideal being that of a ship's cabin, while another person prefers to economise in food, clothing, and amusements so that he may have ample house room. To each, according to his temperament!" (p. 118).

"Even labour-saving must not be pursued at the cost of a limiting uniformity" (p. 119).

"It should be made quite plain that New Town will not propose to force any of the suggested arrangements [of co-operative housekeeping, service, etc.] upon its inhabitants, but will rather hold itself in readiness to meet promptly the demands that they make for such assistance" (p. 120).

A previous speaker has ventured the prophecy that working women revolting against the narrowness of their lives would have an important part in the coming revolution. Therefore no apology is needed for my dwelling somewhat at length on the first point in the syllabus set down for me, "Women's Part in New Town."

### *WOMAN'S PLACE IN LIFE*

Though so "stained with all ignoble use" that we forget its worthy origin, the word "lady" is connected with the root *loaf*, meaning either *loaf-giver* (Ruskin) or *loaf-kneader* (Skeat), and the New Town woman will be in the truest sense a lady, sharing the productive work of which bread is a symbol. She will be a "virtuous woman" in King Lemuel's sense (see Proverbs, chap. 31). Not merely did she clothe herself and her household in scarlet and fine

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linen, but looked to the needs of others. She was an organiser and a trader selling goods and buying her household stores from afar. Our mediæval matrons followed in her footsteps; and it was only the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century that gave us the Victorian "lady," priding herself on her superiority to the "breadwork" of the world. When large scale industry took out of the home not only spinning and weaving but sewing and knitting, not only brewing but the making of jam, cakes and bread, the less favoured women had to go forth and do this work in factories under uncongenial conditions. The later 19th century saw women of means (dissatisfied with a drawing-room existence) forcing their way into professions and the universities hitherto closed; and the period of the Great War has seen the logical extension of this process, giving them an opportunity of exercising their powers and breaking down the last strongholds of privilege—the law, a franchise based on sex, and Oxford University!

The woman of to-day, having won her spurs as a student and as worker in the world, can now afford to specialise in domestic work, and help to prevent the creation of another race of Cinderellas on the hearths of New Town and elsewhere, in the new homes fit for heroes.

And this brings us to the women of to-morrow.

"Rightly or wrongly, the woman who has had her own wages in office or munition factory, the girl who has been 'on her own' on a farm or 'bus, or lived an open life of camaraderie in the W.R.N.S. or the W.A.A.C.S., will not readily 'go back into the home.' Woman and girl both want a home, and want a mate, and want children—but they also want independence. The girl is not going with her eyes open to be the drudge that her mother—often for the girl's sake—is to-day" ("New Town," p. 126).

She would, however, gladly join the staff of a People's Kitchen and work in shifts for regular hours, or enlist in the uniformed corps of household auxiliaries, and go round at fixed times to houses and flats to do cleaning and polishing, table-laying and waiting. Then she would welcome marriage and could look forward to the time when she might be occupied with her young children. For she could be free from her business in the auxiliaries and elsewhere, and also from



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many of the household burdens and Jack-of-all-trade rôles, which too often prevent the mothers of to-day from really mothering their children. As things are now, she knows only too well the fate of "Baby Love."

Baby Love came prancing by,  
Cap on head and sword on thigh,  
Horse to ride and drum to beat,—  
All the world beneath his feet.

Mother Life was sitting there,  
Hard at work and full of care,  
Set of mouth and sad of eye.  
Baby Love came prancing by.

Baby Love was very proud,  
Very lively, very loud;  
Mother Life arose in wrath,  
Set an arm across his path.

Baby Love wept loud and long,  
But his mother's arm was strong.  
Mother had to work, she said.  
Baby Love was put to bed.

New Town, therefore, is to provide for ladies of the olden time rather than for Cinderellas. Remember there are fewer princes with whom our Cinderellas may live happily "for ever after." Instead, many must be princesses in their own right, trained in professions and skilled to take a place in the world if need be.

### *HOME HOUSES*

Women have always taken a large share in the work of field and factory, and will probably continue to do so, as well as in the domestic sphere. The conditions on which they will do so will be more apparent when we have considered the housing proposals for New Town and the arrangements for what we have called the Home House. We are asking our architects to give us simple, roomy dwellings, open to air and sun, easy to clean and to keep in repair, with common heating arrangements, with plenty of shelving and cupboard room, with, as far as possible, fixtures instead of furniture, and with hot water laid on.

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Meeting as we do in the home of a College community, it is easy to emphasise the desirability for each adult, each youth or maiden, to have at least a room to him or herself as sanctuary, even if we ask only for a bed-sitting room. The common rooms necessary for a family would depend on the extent to which communal services of cooking, laundry work, and opportunities for common meals and common work were provided for (a) by large public services, (b) by arrangements in a small group of dwellings (which I usually see as a quadrangle!).

These are the Home Houses we think of for "father and mother and troops of children"; but there are to be other types of household groups for whom some type of co-operative housekeeping is desirable. One might easily build many such castles in the air; but I leave that tempting occupation to my hearers. I may say, however, that I believe a member of our Conference is prepared to become House Mother and make a home of such a castle as soon as the building is provided. I should like, incidentally, to point out that definite offers of help such as this will gladly be welcomed by our Council, and in due time passed on to the proper persons.

Adjuncts to these households, large or small, in flats or single rooms or houses, will be the Communal Services already alluded to. Those contemplated are the Household Auxiliary Corps, the Health Society, to which may be added the People's House and People's Kitchen and the Guest House; all of which would be, in one way or other, a great relief to the housekeeper in arranging for her family and visitors.

The Household Auxiliary Corps will be recruited from women or men requiring whole or part time employment. They will be at the service of anyone needing them, regularly or casually. They might attend a few hours daily, or for longer or shorter times as arranged, and "clear up" or "clean up." Cooks, waitresses, needlewomen, and others will be trained as indicated by the demand for them.

The Health Society will have even more important functions, skilled nurses and doctors being provided for by common subscription to a society which might perhaps become "approved" under the National Insurance Scheme.

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The major requirements of accident and infectious illness would need nothing new; but the minor and temporary ills that flesh seems to be heir to might well be dealt with so as to prevent anxiety and delay. A useful feature might be the loan of medical and nursing appliances; and in connection with infancy and childhood, perhaps, even cots and children's playground rails.

### *ECONOMY*

In both of these services and in the communal kitchens there will be endless scope for initiative, for help when and where needed, and for economy in labour and in what a business would call "plant." Think of the duplication of such things as perambulators, and their depreciation before they are finally got rid of as lumber—as well as of the space they occupy and the trouble they cause in cleaning. Think of the linen and plate and silver only used occasionally—of which a small stock would serve quite a large number of families, of mangles and mincers, and pots and pans and stoves. The initial labour, the labour of upkeep, the waste of house-room are by no means negligible items in the question of expense to which reference must shortly be made. To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that, however effective otherwise, these and similar services will not be valuable if they fail to give the personal touch, the feeling of willing and sympathetic help which is often needed as well as material attention.

In speaking of the houses and of the public services, one is met by criticism of cost—who will bear the expense? Take the illustration of the additional cupboard which I was told would mean twopence per week extra rent. May it not be that its lack causes daily annoyance and hence loss of nervous energy to all but the strongest home maker, and a loss of perhaps two hours weekly? Is not her time worth more to herself and the community than a penny an hour?

The time wasted in this and many similar ways may be added simply to her leisure and be reproductive there in her own health and happiness and that of her family. It may be, however, productive of health and happiness, and also of material wealth of as great value as the timber and carpenter's skill embodied in the cupboard.

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### COMMUNAL FEATURES

It has been suggested that groups of houses should be provided with central communal features—for example, wash-houses and kitchens—the extent of their development depending on the provision made locally and centrally of kitchens on “national” lines. Such groups might have a common room for needlework for home use or for sale, the room serving during the evening for reading or study. Industries involving hand or light machine work to which electric power could be adapted might be carried on; and a nursery school could be arranged. There might be jam-making or allotment work or the keeping of bees and poultry as group industries.

This would be analogous to the literary, artistic, and professional work carried on at present by women in their own homes. Many women would likewise, as at present, enter industry for full time; but other opportunities should be available. There is also scope for half-time employment if managers would organise it, women perhaps working in pairs. Women might also register as seasonal hands to work when required; while the Household Corps would naturally be able to give part time and occasional employment. Married teachers would often gladly take teaching again in the same way; and it is quite certain that more women teachers would marry if such a prospect were open to them.

The connection between education and such a fairly generous and partially communal family life is important, even if not at first obvious. At the stages where constant intercourse between mother and child is essential, the mother would be freed from other cares. At stages where the child needs the company of other children or the care of adults other than herself, she would be free for productive service or for self-expression in her craft work or her normal profession, or to undertake the duties of a citizen.

Mother and child would come to respect each other more if the one were less burdened, the other less parasitic on a single person; with less strain on body and nerves for the one, there would be less repression for the other, and hence fewer cases for the psycho-analysts of the future; and there would be more opportunity for self-expression for both, to



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the great increase of creative power and joy in the world.

Freedom for woman is the key to her place in New Town—first of all freedom from “outward cumbers” in the way of furniture and domestic accessories and responsibilities, economic freedom and the opportunity for a career for herself, freedom from her children at times—with the result that she shall be free for her children. As chattel slavery has gone, as wage slavery is to go, so also must go house slavery for the woman. We are to conserve the value of the home by changing its form. It is not without meaning for us of New Town that Jesus took a little child and set him in the midst. There will be plenty of room for sacrifice as we realise the importance of our children and through them of all children. Through them, the mothers, free from lesser cares, should, as pointed out by Mrs. Stetson in the poem already quoted, find a call to make a world safe for all children.

And I stand not alone. I will gather a band  
Of all loving mothers from land unto land.  
Our children are part of the world! do ye hear?  
They are one with the world—we must hold them all  
dear!

Love all for the child's sake!

For the sake of the child I must hasten to save  
All the children on earth from the jail and the grave.  
For so, and so only, I lighten the share  
Of the pain of the world that my darling must bear.  
Even so, and so only!

*Ques.—Ought not the Town Hall to be included in the term “the life of the community”?*

*Ans.—*Our municipal establishments should grow with the town. We should start our central buildings with the school; extend with buildings for religious, fellowship, and similar purposes; and this block would become the community centre. But we must not begin by putting up a Town Hall.

*Ques.—Do you intend to have rows of houses or houses in pairs?*

*Ans.—*Under no conditions in rows, and not all in pairs; there are methods of grouping houses in fours or sixes.

*Ques.—If the site chosen were in a stone district, such as Oxford or Devonshire, should we be bound to have brick houses? And are there not forms of concrete houses that are cheaper than brick?*

*Ans.—*Great strides are being made now in concrete construction, but it has not proved as economical as was hoped. The mass-pro-

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duction of building materials is not so advantageous as one might think, as transport is getting very expensive, and from that point of view it may be desirable to obtain or make them in our own district.

*Ques.—Do you propose to limit the size of the house and the extent of the garden, so that social barriers and the segregation of classes may be avoided?*

*Ans.—*The separation of classes has come about in Letchworth; we do not intend to allow it. It is not necessary to limit the size of the house, but owing to difficulties in starting, the earlier houses will be erected for workers.

*Ques.—Cannot front gardens be made communal?*

*Ans.—*Yes: I hope we shall try to treat front gardens communally, and not give too large gardens to individual houses; there is a limit to the amount a man can work in his spare time—about an eighth of an acre. Ten houses per acre should be the maximum, including roads. In fact, we may need more room than this to allow space for allotments.

*Ques.—Has the Council considered the question of co-operation in meals?*

*Ans.—*We must exercise caution, and have regard to the wishes of individual tenants. There is certainly still room for individual meals. This point must be decided by the women.

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## Propaganda

THE final session was devoted to a discussion on ways and means of spreading knowledge of New Town ideals and of assisting the Pioneer Trust in the establishment of the first new town, W. R. Hughes answering a number of questions arising out of the addresses given by previous speakers. Members of the Conference were urged to endeavour to get reports of the proceedings into their local newspapers; to arrange meetings amongst persons likely to be interested; and send to the Secretary the names of persons who could be approached personally or by letter and literature.

An invitation was given to all to identify themselves closely with the movement by joining the New Town Council as members or associates, or by subscribing to the capital of the Pioneer Trust.

In the course of discussion, the following subjects were dealt with:—

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### **FINANCE.**

Co-operation has distinct financial value ; it implies the formation of credit. We have approached the C.W.S. as to finding capital for us, but have been met again with the exceptional difficulties of the time ; much more working capital is now required to run their own business. At present there is no quick or easy way to get a start apart from personal interest and personal contribution.

It was pointed out that the borrowing of money for agricultural purposes—the purchase of seeds, etc.—is much more easily done than for the purpose of building houses. The former brings in a quick return and it is easy to get an advance for a few months.

### **THE SITE.**

There are seven leading conditions which a site must fulfil. You will be fortunate if you find two of them in any site offering. We should, of course, select one where the general conditions seem favourable, and should prefer a midland situation, either 50 miles from London or 20 miles from any other large town.

### **APPORTIONMENT BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL PARTS.**

The final size of the town is doubtful. We have looked towards ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants. In considering how much of the area should be agricultural, we have never aimed at making the town self-supporting in agricultural produce. But we must have an agricultural belt round it. The need for agricultural space is inherent in the scheme, the amount is quite arbitrary. For a town of 10-15,000 inhabitants probably 500 acres would be enough space for housing and manufacturing. The remainder of the area would be available for agriculture.

### **ADMISSION TO NEW TOWN.**

*Ques.—Would there be any kind of test for intending residents?*

*Ans.—*On general principles there would be no test. A sufficient discrimination would be ensured by the knowledge that New Town industry would be run on co-operative lines, and would rule out private profit. Just at first we should only have 2-300 acres of land available, which would be farmed, and the selection of people to farm it would depend on what the land was suitable for, whether fruit-growing, dairy-farming or other products. We should consider two things about these people : (1) Do they really like our idea ? (2) Are they first-class workers at their job ? When we came to build, the same two questions would have to be asked. We don't expect much difficulty in finding workers ; our embarrassment would be the number of applicants.

*Ques.—You will want all sorts of people with some special skill—teachers, doctors, architects, etc. Have you considered the possibility of asking for voluntary workers for the first ten years?*

*Ans.—*Experience shows that voluntary workers are only to be depended upon for a time. New Town wants to be a place for an ordinary worker, who has to earn his living ; but when you have said this, there will be endless opportunities for voluntary work. We shall look forward to such people to help us, but there is a limit to the

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kind of work that can be given to voluntary workers. There is undoubtedly a place for them, but they won't form the basis.

*Ques.—How will the first-comers get their living? Will they be paid wages?*

*Ans.—*It will depend on how you organise. I hope agriculture, with which we shall have to start, will be organised with the maximum expression of the idea of co-operation, probably some form of guild. The wages paid would be determined by the standard rates paid in the district.

### **FREEDOM OF ACTION IN BUILDING.**

*Ques.—Assuming that you own land, will freedom be given to anyone who wants to build a house or a church?*

*Ans.—*We should let land on a long lease. There is much to be said for building being done by the Guild of Builders. As to the design, there will be freedom, but the plans will have to be passed by the New Town Company. Security of tenure would be granted in some way. If a number of people want to put up a building for religious purposes, they will have entire freedom and opportunity.

### **LOCAL GOVERNMENT.**

*Ques.—Is it the intention that New Town shall ask for powers to constitute itself a Local Authority?*

*Ans.—*It is theoretically possible to get a charter, but we should not try to do so. At first we should have a Parish Council, then as the town increased, an Urban District Council, and then become a borough.

### **LICENSING.**

*Ques.—Is there to be local option?*

*Ans.* There will be a People's House in the town for general social purposes. The question of a license will be left to the inhabitants.

### **EXPERIENCE GAINED.**

Past failures need not be discouraging. We can now see the weak points in the old schemes, and we wonder how it was that their authors did not see them. We are more likely to succeed now because (1) our system of education will be an improvement on any heretofore adopted; and (2) we have more experience to build upon.

### **OBJECTIONS.**

The opinion was expressed that the scheme of New Town was largely a perpetuation of the present system. For a town to be really "new," it must abolish the old industrial system wholly and completely, and range itself on the side of service, rather than on the side of gain.

The answer was made that the book "New Town," makes clear that the scheme is diametrically opposed to the present system—private ownership of land, private ownership of capital, and production for profit.

It was also urged that instead of facing problems, the inhabitants of New Town were going to get away from them, and live in a



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privileged position. It would be better to put our principles into practice in the towns existing at present, and set them right.

The reply to this was that the most effective and quickest way of affecting bad conditions in old towns was by starting a new town. It was to be expected that the inhabitants of New Town would be keen propagandists all over the country.

*Ques.—Will not the competitive system still be going on in New Town?*

*Ans.—*The scheme is obviously not one of pure communism. There will be co-operation in the town; any competition will be between this and the capitalist system outside.

*Ques.—Have you taken steps to get into touch with the co-operative movement?*

*Ans.—*Some of our own members are keen co-operators; some are in co-operative guilds. We do, indeed, express what the forward co-operators are trying to advance among their own members.

*Ques.—How are we to get into real contact with the working man?*

*Ans.—*To do this you have got to disarm suspicion; you have got to be one of them, and by your life and personal contact with them you have got to prove that you are.

If you wish to approach Trades Unions it is no use sending them pamphlets. Get permission from secretaries to approach the men in whatever journal they publish.

### HOW TO ENROL IN THE MOVEMENT

Those who are willing to give personal service, as opportunity offers, to the active propaganda work of the New Town Council may ask to be nominated as full members of the Council. Others who are interested, but not able to give active help, are asked to enrol themselves as Associate Members of the Council (minimum annual subscription 2s. 6d.).

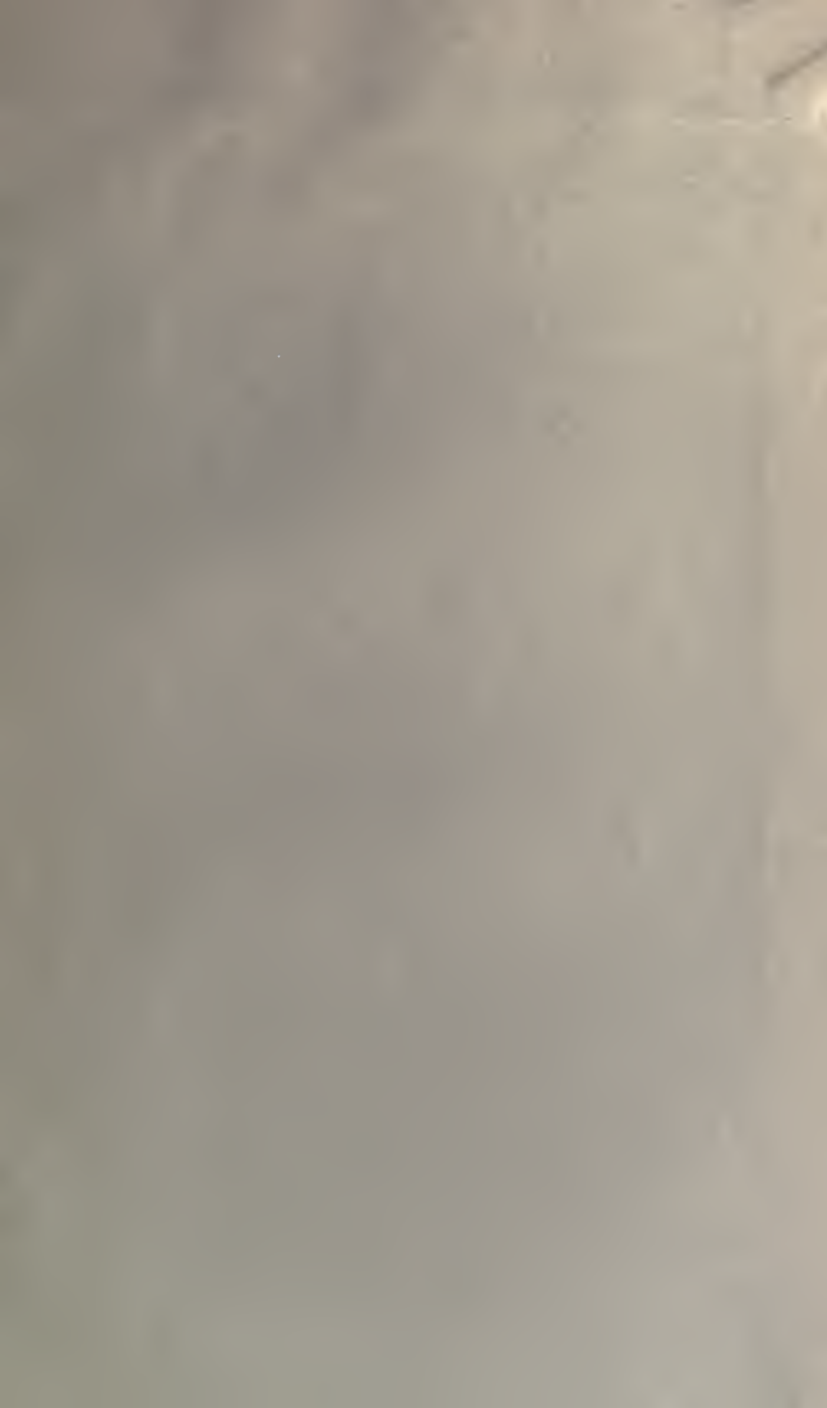
The Pioneer Trust is the working body that is collecting the necessary capital, and preparing for the practical development of the New Town scheme.

The secretaries of the Council and of the Trust will be glad to answer all enquiries and to supply literature. Letters to both should be addressed to 14, Bedford Row, London, W.C. 1.

Copies of the book "New Town," (Dent's, 2/-) can be obtained through any bookseller, or from the Secretary of the New Town Council, post free, 2/3.









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